



HISTORY *of* VERMONT

COLLINS



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THOMAS CHITTENDEN

The first governor of Vermont

A
HISTORY OF VERMONT

BY

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YALE UNIVERSITY

*WITH GEOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL
NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY,
MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS*

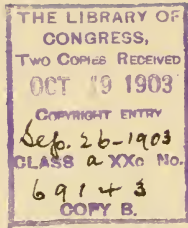
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PREFACE

The charm of romance surrounds the discovery, exploration, and settlement of Vermont. The early records of the state offer an exceptional field for the study of social groups placed in altogether primitive and almost isolated conditions; while in political organization this commonwealth illustrates the development of a truly organic unity. The state was for fourteen years an independent republic, prosperous and well administered.

This book is an attempt to portray the conditions of life in this state since its discovery by white men, and to indicate what the essential features of its social, economic, and political development have been. It is an attempt, furthermore, to do this in such a way as to furnish those who are placed under legal requirement to give instruction in the history of the state an opportunity to comply with the spirit as well as with the letter of the law.

Instruction in state history rests on a perfectly sound pedagogical and historical basis. It only demands that the same facilities be afforded in the way of texts, bibliographical aids, and statistical data, as are demanded in any other field of historical work, and that the most approved methods of study and teaching be followed. Indeed, in certain respects state history offers a superior field for instruction in the public schools. It affords the student an opportunity to study at first hand the

development of those institutions which are to demand the activities and interests of his maturer life. These institutions are state rather than national.

Furthermore, in the interplay of local and federal politics state history illustrates the evolution of the essential relations between local institutions and the central government. It is thus a direct preparation for the study of civics and national history. It certainly is pragmatic to acquaint students with the genesis of the social, economic, and political conditions in which they find themselves placed and forced to act; but this is quite in touch with the trend of the present educational movement.

The rapidly changing conception of what history really is applies, of course, to this department of historical study as to any other. These green hills and fertile valleys would have been peopled and tilled by men of essentially the same fiber if Ethan Allen had not succeeded in his audacious attempt on Ticonderoga, if Stark had not won a brilliant victory at Bennington, or if Macdonough had not been successful in a naval battle off Cumberland Head. While the political destiny of the state may have been shaped to some degree by military events, the social and industrial organization within the body politic has developed essentially unchanged thereby. From this point of view military events necessarily play a relatively unimportant part, and industrial activities a relatively important one.

To those who may use this book for instruction a few suggestions are due. Since the subject is taught to different grades in different schools, no attempt has been

made to limit the scope of the work to the requirements of any one grade. It has been left to the teacher to determine in each case the possibilities of his own classes. The work indicated in the map exercises on page 280 should always precede the study of the narrative. The source extracts at the beginning of the chapters and in the text illustrate the kind of material from which history is written, and provide means for further analytical study. Constructive ability may best be developed by individual research and reports on topics of local interest. The statistical tables will furnish material for both analytical and constructive work of a still different nature on the plan illustrated on pages 211, 212, 215, and especially 221-223. The pupils should always be required to study the maps and illustrations in connection with the narrative.

I wish to acknowledge a special indebtedness to Professor George H. Perkins for suggestions on the archaeological portions of the history ; to Hon. G. G. Benedict for a similar service on the portions dealing with the military history of the state during the Civil War ; and to Mr. F. D. Nichols for his efforts in securing the illustrations by which the volume is so materially enriched.

BARTON LANDING,
Sept. 16, 1903.

E. D. COLLINS.

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HISTORY OF VERMONT

CHAPTER I

THE STRENGTH OF THE HILLS

Continuing our route along the west side of the lake, contemplating the country, I saw on the east side very high mountains, capped with snow. I asked the Indians if those parts were inhabited. They answered me yes, and that they were Iroquois, and there were in those parts beautiful valleys and fields fertile in corn as good as any I had eaten in the country, with an infinitude of other fruits, and that the lake extended close to the mountains, which were according to my judgment, fifteen leagues from us. — *Extract from Champlain's narrative, 1609.*

FIRST DISCOVERIES BY WHITE MEN

In the year 1534 Jacques Cartier, sailing under commission from the king of France, passed through the Strait of Belle Isle into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, possessed of a belief that he was on the high road to Cathay. The Breton sailor had but little time that summer to make explorations before the coming of the autumn winds bade him seek again the shores of France. With the following spring, however, he returned to his quest and sailed far up the river in eager search for a water way to the East Indies through this continent. That way he never found, but on this trip an incident befell him which has some interest for us.

In October, 1535, he came to a place on the shore of the river where the Indians had a settlement. It was then called Hochelaga ; at the same place, three fourths of a century later, the French laid the foundations of the city of Montreal. The Indians received the white men kindly, and during their brief stay guided them to the top of the mountain which rose behind their town. If that day was clear when Cartier looked eastward over the miles of frost-painted forest, he saw lying sharply against the sky line in the distance the pointed summit of Jay Peak, flanked by its domelike neighbors. Years were to come and go before white men drew near to the land of those dark hills, but when the time came they were countrymen of his who claimed the honor.

It was nearly three quarters of a century later — and nearly three centuries ago — when Samuel de Champlain, servant of France in the New World, founded the city of Québec. In that year, 1608, Milton was born; John Smith's story of the Jamestown settlement was printed in London; Sir Walter Raleigh lay imprisoned in the Tower of London writing his history of the world. The Pilgrims were then leaving the shores of old England for their brief stay in Holland before coming to the bleak coast of Plymouth; Henry Hudson had not then carried the Dutch flag into the river that bears his name; the King James version of our Bible had not been finished; and Shakespeare had not laid aside his pen.

In the following year Vermont was first visited by white men. When the April sun had loosened the grip of ice and snow on lake and river the gallant Frenchman started on a voyage of exploration. He left Québec,

accompanied by a few of his own men and a party of Indians in their birch canoes, and set out up the river in a chaloupe. Where the Richelieu empties into the St. Lawrence he took the smaller stream, and in June came to the Falls of Chambly. Here he left the chaloupe and went on in canoes with two of his own men and the Indians. On the morning of July 4, 1609, Champlain and his companions glided silently into the waters of that beautiful lake which henceforth was to bear his name. He wrote:

There are many pretty islands here, low and containing very fine woods and meadows with abundance of fowl and such animals of the chase as stags, fallow-deer, fawns, roebucks, bears and others, which go from the mainland to these islands. We captured a large number of these animals. There are also many beavers, not only in this river but also in numerous other little ones that flow into it. These regions, although they are pleasant, are not inhabited by any savages on account of their wars; but they withdraw as far as possible from the rivers into the interior in order not to be suddenly surprised.

They paddled on past the islands, and the further scenes which his eyes beheld Champlain recorded in the words which you read at the beginning of the chapter.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Before Champlain and his followers left the lake they had stained their hands with blood. It was no peaceful, undisputed territory into which they had so boldly come. It was a border land between great Indian nations, the hunting ground and fighting ground of Algonquins and Iroquois.

South of the great lakes and eastward to the Hudson River and Lake Champlain lived the Iroquois, comprising powerful tribes; while through New England and the St. Lawrence region, and even to New Brunswick, were scattered the various Algonquin tribes. The Indians who accompanied Champlain well knew the dangers of this trip, and came with him only on the understanding that he would help them fight the Iroquois if they should chance to meet.

They did meet, and Champlain kept his promise. The Iroquois fled from the deadly guns of the Europeans, — weapons which were new and strange to them. But they did not forget, and they were slow to forgive. So the little battle by the lakeside, in which the arquebuses of three white men won the day, was destined to breed trouble for the French in Canada in later years. It turned the friendship of the Iroquois away from the French toward the English; it counted much in that long contest between the two nations which was to determine the destiny of this continent.

But Champlain and his two countrymen could not foresee that. They sat in the red light of the camp fire that evening and watched their Indians tormenting the captives with tortures which to Christian eyes must have seemed strange and pitiless.

The great basin of the Champlain and its tributaries furnished scenes for many such combats of which history has no record. The shores of the lake and the lands as far eastward as the mountains were not safe for permanent settlement by either of the two great rival tribes. Although the Indians told Champlain that the Iroquois

dwelt in those parts, it is not likely that they were more than hunting grounds through which parties might rove in search of game without making a fixed abode. At any rate the Iroquois left here no name of mountain, lake, or river. The Indian names which are preserved by us are those of the Abenakis.

The Green Mountains formed a natural barrier through the length of the state which red men rarely crossed until the days of the French and Indian wars. The Coosuck Indians, another branch of Algonquins, dwelt undisturbed on the broad flats which stretch back from the Connecticut River at Newbury and above — known to early rangers and settlers as the Cohasse intervals, or Coos meadows — until the white men came and drove them to Canada. Men now living have seen near Wells River the remains of an old Indian village and fort; and within the memory of some the St. Francis Indians made periodical visits to Charleston, and pointed out to white settlers the seams and scars in old maples where their ancestors had tapped the trees in spring for their annual sugar making.

RELICS OF THE PAST

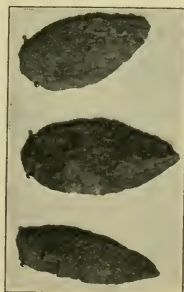
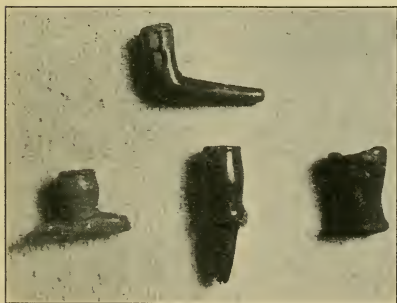
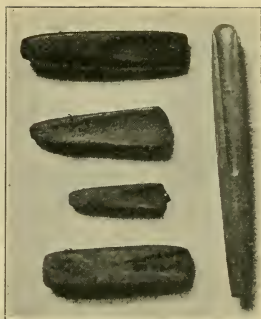
We must not think because there were no tribes in peaceful possession of the land when white men first came, that such had always been the case. There are traces of more than a transient residence by Indians. Such relics as we possess inform us of the fact of their occupancy, but they give no certain knowledge by which we can tell who those early inhabitants were.

The following description was given in 1873 of an old burial place of these people. It is the only such place within the state of which we have any knowledge.

About two miles north of the village of Swanton in north-western Vermont is a sandy ridge, which was formerly covered by a dense growth of Norway pines ; the thickly set, straight trees resembling somewhat a huge growth of hemp. The place was at one time called "the old hemp yard," a name which still clings to it. Rather more than twelve years ago it was discovered that beneath this forest stone implements were buried, and further investigation has shown that the spot which was so covered with large trees and stumps when the white men first came into the region had been, ages before, used as a burial place by some people whose only records are the various objects which the affectionate care of the living placed in the graves of the dead. From directly beneath the largest trees or half-decayed stumps some of these relics were taken, so that we may feel sure that before the great pines which for many years, perhaps centuries, grew, flourished, and decayed, had germinated, these graves were dug, and with unknown ceremonies the bodies of the dead were placed in them, together with those articles that had been used during life, or were supposed to be needed in a future existence. We cannot know how many successive growths of trees may have followed each other since the forest began to usurp the place set apart for sepulture.

We find also very many relics of more recent Indian life and occupancy. Along the borders of the streams which empty into Lake Champlain, along the higher lands beside them, on the shores of the lake itself, and on the islands, the specimens of their handiwork and arts have been frequently found.

In a few instances multiplicity of domestic implements has indicated the site of a village or a frequently visited



PREHISTORIC IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN VERMONT
Slate knives; gouges or hollow chisels; points and scrapers; pipes.

camping ground. One such place was near Swanton, where the St. Francis Indians had a village near the river which they had occupied from ancient times. Here, too, was an old burial place, four or five miles from the ancient graves mentioned above. The Indians had no knowledge of these earlier graves, but knew only those of their own kinsmen.

Across the lake, on a sand ridge north of Plattsburg, there were kilns where pottery was burned. Here were



COPPER KNIVES AND POINTS

scattered about clusters of burned stones, masses of burned clay, and numerous bits of pottery. Remains of old fortifications have been found, with many arrow and spear points near by, while on Grand Isle in the lake the remains of many arrow and spear points

and unfinished articles show that once there was a manufactory of them there. Less common than arrow and spear points are the gouges and chisels of various kinds of stone, some hard enough to scrape the charred embers from logs which were burning out for canoes, others so soft as to be of little use except to smooth the seams of deerskin garments or be used in dressing leather.

Stone pestles and mortars for pounding corn were not uncommon; while other pestles, made of slate, were sometimes used to crush or mash the grain by rolling



PREHISTORIC IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN VERMONT

Ornamental jar found at Colchester; a larger globular jar; triangular, quadrangular, double and single edged axes or celts; points; ceremonial stones,

it upon a flat stone or log. The slate if used in sharp contact with another stone would have left too much grit in the grain even for an Indian's taste. Stone axes and hatchets have been found. Fragments of soapstone pots and jars have been found, but only two entire jars are now in existence. In fact only four or five from the whole of New England are now known to exist.

Other pots and jars, made of burned clay, have been found more plentifully. They are of various shapes and sizes, and some are quite remarkable. One exceptionally fine specimen of an ornamental jar of Indian manufacture was found at Colchester, near Burlington, in 1825.

Copper articles seem to have been rare among the Indians of this state. Those which have been found are apparently made of native copper which probably came from Lake Superior, beaten into the desired shape. They must have come here in the course of war or trade. Agricultural implements are also rare. Some flint or hornstone spades have been discovered, and some of these might have been attached to handles and used as hoes.

In Indian ceremonials and tribal proceedings perhaps no single article was so important as the calumet, or pipe. It was indispensable in declaring war or peace, in ratifying treaties, and in the settlement of religious questions. Specimens of pipes have been found in the Champlain Valley, some of them carved and variously ornamented with designs of animals.

In two places within the state the Indians left inscriptions on rocks. One of these, known as "Indian Rock," is at Brattleboro, near the junction of the West and

Connecticut rivers. It has pictured on its surface ten or eleven figures of birds, mammals, and snakes. The other inscriptions are on two granite rocks near the Connecticut at Bellows Falls. One of the rocks bears on it the rudely graven figure of a large head, some twenty inches long, surmounted by rays ; the other has twenty heads of varying sizes but all smaller than the one just mentioned. Some of these also have rays, and all are similarly made, being roughly outlined with a broad shallow groove, the eyes and mouth consisting in most cases of mere circular depressions, and the nose being usually omitted altogether. Various guesses have been made as to the meaning of these inscriptions, but we have little reason to suppose that they were designed to convey any special message.

From these scattered relics and others that have been found it will be seen that although the Indians left no written records they did leave many things which tell us of their lives in war and peace. We have the measure of their skill in the weapons and tools which they fashioned ; and these silent witnesses to their arts and crafts enable us to form some idea of their degree of civilization. We can see how far they learned to use the gifts of nature as raw material for their crude workmanship. We have evidences of what their taste and skill in ornamentation were. From their tools we can gather what their highest attempts were in rough carpentry and agriculture.

We know also that here in our state, when it was but an unnamed wilderness, were hunting grounds inhabited by many kinds of game in abundance. Here and there on the broad intervals of the larger rivers were fertile

fields where the Indian women could raise maize and their few vegetables ; while the hunters roamed the forest for game, or sought the streams where salmon ran, the mountain brooks where trout were ever abundant, and the lakes where lay great maskinonge.

From the skins of the deer, elk, moose, and beaver they could fashion their rough garments and frame some protection from the winter's cold. The flesh of their slaughtered game furnished the main part of their sustenance ; and thus through the changing seasons they lived, halfway between the hunting stage and the agricultural stage, depending on Nature's bounty, till the white men came.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

Voted, That it will be of great service to all the western frontiers, both in this and the neighboring government of Connecticut, to build a Block House above Northfield, in the most convenient place on the lands call'd the Equivalent Lands,¹ and to post in it forty able men, English and Western Indians, to be employed in scouting at a good distance up the Connecticut River, West River, Otter Creek, and sometimes eastwardly, above great Monadnuck, for the discovery of the enemy coming towards any of the frontier towns.—*Massachusetts Court Records, Dec. 27, 1728.*

COLONIAL POLITICS

It was not very many years after the French had established settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley, at Quebec and Montreal, before English settlers sought homes on the rocky New England coast, and the Dutch sat down to trade on the island of Manhattan, in that

¹ The "equivalent lands" were tracts lying in the southern part of the present state of Vermont which were given by Massachusetts to Connecticut, to take the place of some Connecticut land which Massachusetts had by mistake been granting. Boundaries were a little uncertain in early days, and when in 1713 they were determined, it was found that Massachusetts had granted 107,793 acres which did not belong to her. But since she very naturally wished to retain the jurisdiction over the settlers, it was arranged that Connecticut should accept an equal number of acres in ungranted territory. They were called for this reason the "equivalent lands." Connecticut sold them at public auction, at Hartford, in 1716, for £683, New England currency. The money thus obtained was donated to Yale College, then a young institution of learning. The lands were bought by gentlemen from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and London.

wonderful harbor which is the glory of all true New Yorkers. So it came to pass that three great powers of the Old World found themselves neighbors in the New World also. From the time when they opened their eyes to this fact they began a struggle for the possession of this part of our continent. The Dutch did not struggle long, for in the year 1664 an English squadron sailed into the harbor and compelled the crusty old Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, to yield the city. Its name was then changed from New Amsterdam to New York, in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York.

News like this made the French settlers in Canada and the French government in France more anxious than ever to curb the growing power of the English here in America. And the English, as they heard how the French were finding their way far up the rivers and even beyond the great lakes, grew more and more anxious to curb the growing power of the French. One could say that it became the policy of the French to drive the English from America, and the policy of the English to drive out the French. This was the great theme of colonial politics. Instead of taking sides for candidates and talking about the men who wanted to be president or governor, the English in America all took sides against the French, saying to themselves, "We must drive them out of Canada." This was as accurate an expression of their political creed as modern party platforms are of ours to-day.

When two great nations hold such utterly contradictory notions about the same thing it does not require

a prophet to foresee trouble. Of course so long as the French remained quietly in Canada and the English remained quietly in New England, with a great stretch of uninhabited country between them, they could not enter on this great and necessary work of driving each other out. So it came to pass that in their attempts to get rid of each other the colonists of the two nations and their allies crossed and recrossed this intervening territory in a long series of raids and forays which have gone down in history as the French and Indian wars.

This is the real meaning of those wars : the French and English were trying to oust each other from the land. What especially concerns us is the fact that a very important part of this country through which they made their bloody trails was the land which came in after years to be our state of Vermont.

THE FRENCH, THE ENGLISH, AND THE INDIANS

It would be well if we could remember how very differently the French and English colonists went about their work of gaining a foothold in the New World. It would help to explain many things. It would tell us why their interests clashed and why they hated each other so ; why the French pushed so rapidly through leagues of forest and stream, while the English clung close to the coasts ; why the Indians hated the English and clove to the French and so helped them in these savage wars.

While the English cut away the forests to make clearings for their little homes and farms which they could till, the French went here and there through uncut

forests, trading with the Indians for furs. In consequence of this, while the English were confined to little settlements along the shores and near the mouths of the larger streams, the French had made their way along the St. Lawrence River, through the great lakes, northward, far, far up the rivers into the heart of the Hudson Bay country, and southward back of the line of English colonies which stretched like a narrow fringe along the Atlantic coast.

As for the Indians, they looked upon the English clearing away the forest and destroying the old hunting grounds, and they knew that although the settlements at first were small and the settlers ready to be friendly, the time would surely come when the settlements would be large and the white men their enemies. The French, on the contrary, destroyed no hunting grounds. Their fur trade depended on the hunting grounds. They came, too, and dwelt like brothers among the Indians and ranged the forests with them, sharing their hardships. In fact, sometimes they were brothers, for they took dusky Indian maidens to wife. They built a fort here or established a trading post there; but these served the Indians as well as the French, and were primarily headquarters for trade, at which only a white man or two would be found in sole charge for weeks and months at a time.

There was another cause of friendship between the Indians and the French. Jesuit missionaries went in hardship and suffering establishing missions among the different tribes, converting them and winning them to the faith and the friendship of their countrymen. Many

records and letters were left by these Jesuits, which are now called the *Jesuit Relations*. These are to-day the most important and valuable sources of knowledge which we have of these Indian tribes at the time when the white men first came among them.

When we thoroughly understand the French method of occupying Canada, we have discovered something which has a direct bearing on the conduct of the French and Indian wars. For example, we see that in all the long line of their widely scattered trading posts, in all the broad expanse of territory which the French held in name, there were really in Canada but two towns of great importance, Quebec and Montreal. We see that the English colonists, if they wished to harm the French, must prepare expeditions large enough and strong enough to take these two fortresses, the bulwarks of the French occupation of Canada. To do this they must have ships and cannon as well as men. On the other hand it was quite an easy matter for a French commander at Montreal to send out day after day little bands of Indians through that great forest which stretched toward the English settlements, to fall upon the scattered and almost defenseless cabins on the frontier. Those cabins were not mere trading posts ; they were homes in which were women and the precious children, treasures dearer than furs, more precious than life itself.

THE INDIAN TRAILS

These raids of marauding bands of Indians and French will have more than a passing interest for us when we recall that the main routes which were traversed lay

across our state, although it was long before that state was settled or bore a name. There were some four or five of these routes which we ought to remember, and to do so will not be difficult if we trace them on the map.

If we bear in mind the starting points, the destination, and the principal water courses which lay between, we shall be guided, as the Indians were, by the natural features of the country into the easiest and for that reason the most frequented routes. The French were at Montreal; the English settlers were east of the Connecticut River or along its lower waters. That river furnished war parties with a great highway in summer or winter into the heart of the enemy's country.

The first route to be named lay across the north-western corner of the state. A party would follow this route by coming up the St. Francis River to Lake Memphremagog and leaving the lake through the Clyde River. That would take them to Island Pond, from which they could make a short carry to the Nulhegan and be guided to the more northern stretches of the Connecticut.

If our war party wished to reach a point on the river a little farther south, it would leave Lake Memphremagog by way of the Barton River, following it to Crystal Lake, and thence going up over the height of land where the springs lie close together that empty north and south, and follow down the valley of the little brook that leads, ever widening, to the Passumpsic, which in turn would take them to the Connecticut near the Cohasse intervals.

But there were easier and quicker routes than these, especially for large parties coming from Montreal. Just as a great river stretched along the eastern border, so a great lake lay on the western border of the state and offered them miles of easy travel by canoe instead of tedious marches overland through the forest. So the Lake Champlain routes were more often used than those which led through Lake Memphremagog.

There were three of these Champlain routes: one leading across the state by way of the Winooski River, one by the Otter Creek, and one by the Pawlet River. Coming to the lake by the ancient way which Champlain had followed, a party could turn in at the Winooski, follow the stream up through the mountains, cross from its upper waters to those of the White River, and follow that till it joined the Connecticut at the place where White River Junction now stands. It was along this route that Rouville led his band of French and Indians in their murderous raid on Deerfield in 1704; hither part of the company retraced their steps, leading along the icebound streams through the snows of February the half-clad and half-starved captives who had escaped massacre. We cannot wonder that the settlers long called the Winooski "the French River."

Still another route there was, by way of the Otter Creek. Where it becomes a swift mountain stream the Indians would leave it, cross by trail the height of land, and going down on the east side of the hills, follow either the Black River or West River, as they chose, to the Connecticut. This was an easy route and came to be much used, so that it was known as "the Indian road."

It was nearest to Crown Point on the Champlain side; and when the French had been driven away, and the wars had ceased, the settlers took it up and made it the basis of one of their first roads through the woods, from Number Four to Crown Point.

The last of these routes, that one which followed the Pawlet River, was of less importance. It began at the head of the lake, and after reaching that point on the river where the crossing was easiest over the summit, led to West River on the eastern side of the mountains. In all these routes the eastern highway of the raiding parties was the Connecticut River. As Lake Champlain was the great water way on the west, so this long, quiet stream lay at their service east of the mountains, whether it were open for canoes in the pleasant warmth of summer months or locked in ice in winter, secure and solid beneath the tread of moccasined feet.

INDIAN RAIDS

As a general statement one might say that from 1689 to 1763 the border settlements on the Connecticut and Merrimac rivers were never safe from the ravages of scouting parties harassing the frontier. If you should chance to run across the memoranda of a certain French officer at Montreal in 1746, you would read a record made day after day of parties of Indians sent out to "strike a blow" at the English, now in this direction, now in that, but especially "towards Boston." You would read also records of the scalps brought back, until you sickened at the thought of it, and wondered no longer that the very name of the French was hated in

New England, and that settlers lived in daily dread of the sound of the war whoop and the sight of a brandished tomahawk. You will recall, too, that when Rogers's rangers destroyed the village of St. Francis they found hundreds of English scalps hanging at the doors of the lodges.

In all the long series of conflicts which go to make up the French and Indian wars, probably no single attack came with so sudden a shock or has been retold more times than that famous raid on the village of Deerfield, Massachusetts, made in the winter of 1704 by Hertel de Rouville and his band of two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians. Coming by the Winooski trail, under the snow-laden branches of the forest, they passed down the Connecticut River on the ice and reached Deerfield on the evening of the 28th of February. Recently fallen snows had drifted high against the palisade of the village at the northeast corner. When the watchman left his post in the early hours of morning, little dreaming that an enemy lay shivering under the pines two miles north of the village, the settlement was helplessly at the mercy of the raiders. Climbing over the palisade on the crusted snow, they scattered through the town and were soon ready to begin their work of murder. It was quickly over. Forty-seven of the inhabitants were slain, the village was set on fire, and when the sun was an hour high the march to Canada had begun.

On the night of the fourth day of the march the party stopped near the site of Brattleboro and built light sledges on which to carry the children, the sick, and the wounded. The march was then renewed, and was rapid

over the ice of the river. At the mouth of the White River, Rouville divided his party. One division went by the White River, crossed the highlands, and took the Winooski trail. On coming to the lake they turned aside to rest a few days at the Indian village near Swanton; then they went on to Montreal. The other division kept on up the Connecticut till they came to the great meadows at Newbury,—the Cohasse intervals,—where, half-starved, they stopped till corn-planting time. They lived meantime on game, but they dared not stay for the harvest of corn, fearing the vengeance of the English.

THE FIRST WHITE OCCUPANCY

The success of the Deerfield raid encouraged many more, and for some years the frontiers of the New England provinces were one continuous scene of merciless pillage. So it is no wonder that the General Court of Massachusetts passed the vote which stands at the beginning of the chapter. The torment of Indians on the frontier and the necessity of building such outposts for defense explain why the first inhabitants of the state were not settlers who had come to hew homes from the forest, but garrisons at these blockhouses or forts, guarding the frontier on the edge of the wilderness.

The blockhouse which was built above Northfield by the order of the General Court of Massachusetts was by no means the first of its kind within the state. Up in the northwest corner, on an island in Lake Champlain, the French had done the same thing years before. It happened in this way. Monsieur de Tracy, who was

then governor of New France, as the French possessions in Canada were called, began in 1664 a line of fortifications from the mouth of the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain. During the first year he built three forts along the river, and in the next spring he ordered Captain de La Motte to proceed up the lake and build a fort on an island. He did so that same year and called the fort St. Anne; but that name was later changed to La Motte after the builder's name. Long after the fort crumbled to decay the island bore the name of the French captain and bears it to this day. That is how the French first built in Vermont and why one of the islands in Grand Isle County is called Isle La Motte.

For a long time the French held this fort as a garrison; the island they dwelt upon for nearly a hundred years. From this fort the French soldiers and their allies of Indians hunted deer and elk and sent out expeditions against the Mohawks. Many years after, at Colchester Point, which would be about a day's journey by canoe from St. Anne, our early settlers found the remains of an old chimney bottom and a wall. Near by there grew some very old red and white currant bushes; and on the beach by the lake they picked up a number of curious old things, — Indian arrows, leaden balls, scraps of iron, pieces of silver and copper coins, bones of animals, and the remains of two human skeletons which had washed out from the neighboring banks at high water. Such evidences make it appear very probable that there was once a French settlement at Colchester Point, made perhaps in connection with the garrisoned fortress of St. Anne.

The advancing operations of the French in that quarter did not come as welcome tidings to the English; and New York authorities sent some officers and men with a few Mohawk Indians to look into affairs about the lake and see what it all meant. So we find that in early spring in 1690 a certain Captain de Warm was in the country on the west side of the lake with about seventeen white men and twenty Indians, acting on orders from the New York authorities at Albany. We find, too, that another captain, Abraham Schuyler by name, was ordered to go to the mouth of the Otter Creek and there "to watch day and night for one month, and daily communicate with Captain de Warm."

De Warm meantime crossed to the eastern side of the lake and built a little stone fort at Chimney Point in Addison. When in August of the same year Captain Schuyler led the first English war party that ever passed through the lake, they stopped at the little stone fort and near there killed two elk. But the English did not keep up the occupancy of it, and in 1731 the French came down and made a settlement there.

We now see that the first three places in Vermont to be occupied for any length of time by white people were military outposts built by the French and the English. With the possible exception of the French settlements, whose extent we do not know, there was no colonization attempted at these posts. They were establishments from which scouting parties might range the country, keep a watchful eye on the operations of the enemy, and in cases of emergency meet for defense. They were also what the English and French governments would

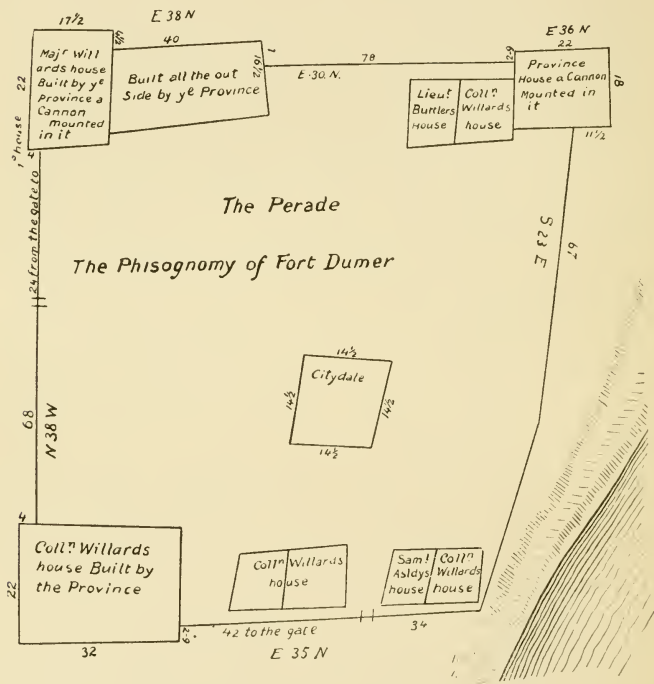
have called "marks of possession," had they been trying to agree on a boundary line instead of trying to drive each other out ; but such marks of possession, as you may have noticed, amount to but very little when two countries are fighting for the same thing, because the stronger can always take it and usually does.

There is, however, an observation about these posts which is of some significance. That is, that the English and the French were creeping nearer to each other in this country and getting ready to spring at each other's throat ; that both were very evidently possessed of a growing determination in their policy ; that just as fast as they grew strong they would use their strength against each other. From what we have now learned it would not require much wisdom to conjecture that these two nations would never inhabit this country together in peace, but that sooner or later one of them would be whipped from its shores.

The old fortress of St. Anne crumbled to decay, and the walls of the little stone fort at Chimney Point fell into ruins, but the blockhouse at Fort Dummer lasted on. The English occupancy about it never ceased, so we will turn back once more to that.

The blockhouse was begun in February next after the vote of the General Court. Colonel John Stoddard of Northampton had the general supervision of the work, and he sent up "four carpenters, twelve soldiers with narrow axes, and two teams," under T. Dwight, to build it. It is said that "the soldiers slept in the woods and earned two shillings per diem besides their stated pay. The horses worked hard, eat oats and nothing else."

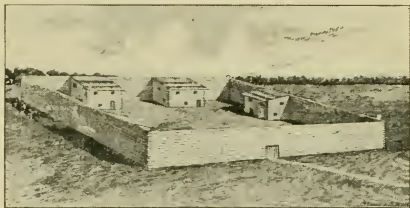
The carpenters from Northfield received five shillings a day, except John Crowfoot, — who was not a Northfield carpenter at all, but a Springfield Indian, — and he received six shillings.



"THE PHISOGNOMY OF FORT DUMER"

They all must have worked pretty hard, for by the time the maples and birches were in full leaf and summer showed her fresh green in the clearing the fort was ready to be occupied. It was named Fort Dummer, in

honor of the man who was lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. It was a right good fort, built for the business it would have to face, and was pitched on the west bank of the Connecticut, in the southeast corner of the present town of Brattleboro, on the Dummer meadows.



FORT DUMMER

It was stoutly built of the yellow pines that grew close at hand and was made nearly one hundred and eighty feet square. Houses were built inside the inclosure with their backs to the wall of the fort and facing the hollow square or parade ground in the center. If the enemy broke through the gates or scaled the walls, as they had done at Deerfield, the garrison could barricade themselves in the houses and fire upon the foe in the hollow square.

SCOUTING PARTIES

During the unsafe and troubled times which followed for many years we could not expect to find settlers building homes in the wilderness. That was a task all too hard in the most favorable times ; it could not be thought of when the woods were full of scouting parties of New France ready to destroy the growing crops, to plunder and ruin the homes, burn the little cabins, take prisoners the inmates and carry them as captives to Canada, or strike the murderous blow if they were too

feeble to endure the terrible march of two hundred miles through the wilderness.

From these forts, therefore, or outposts like the blockhouse on the Dummer meadows, we may only expect to find that scouting parties go out and return, making the fort their headquarters at which to receive their orders, report their trips, and equip themselves for tiresome tramps through the forests and along the streams. The extracts from Captain Kellogg's journal show that such scouting parties began to range the country promptly in the fall of the same year that Fort Dummer was built.

I have sent out [the record runs] several scouts, an account of which I here present.

The first on November 30, we went on ye¹ west side of Connecticut River and crossing ye West River went up to ye Great Falls and returned, making no discovery of any Enemy. [The great falls mentioned here are the Bellows Falls of to-day.]

The next scout went up ye West River 6 miles, and then crossed ye wood up to ye Great Falls, and returned making no discovery of any new signs of an enemy.

The next scout I sent out west from Northfield about 12 miles and from thence northward, crossing West River thro ye woods; then steering east, they came to ye Canoo place about 16 or 17 miles above Northfield.

The next scout I sent out northwest about 6 miles, and then they steered north until they crossed West River, and so thro ye woods to ye Great Meadows below ye Great Falls, then they crossed Connecticut River and came down on ye East side untill they came to Northfield without any new discovery, this Meadow being about 32 miles from Northfield.

¹ The old form *ye* is the same as *the* and so pronounced, the *y* in *ye* being the obsolete form of *th*.

The next scout I sent up ye West River Mountain, and there to Lodge on ye top and view Evening and Morning for smoaks, and from thence up to ye mountain at ye Great Falls and there also to Lodge on ye top and view morning and evening for smoaks ; but these making no discovery returned.

The next scout I sent up ye West River 5 miles and then north till they came upon Sexton's River, 6 miles from ye mouth of it, wc empties itself at ye foot of ye Great Falls, and then they came down till they came to ye mouth of it, and so returned, but made no discovery of any enemy.

So the purpose of the fort was served, and the settlements rested a little more easily in the knowledge that if Indians did come there were now up at Fort Dummer stanch men keeping watch by night and day, scanning with keen eyes the pathless forest ; and they knew that it would be a small band indeed that could slip past undiscovered and not have the great gun of the fort send its warning echoes booming through the woods.

Of the tale of war and politics which kept both French and English in a turmoil until that memorable day upon the Plains of Abraham, we can tell but little here. But we may note that over in the Champlain Valley the border fights went on until boys grew to be men ; and all along the shores of the lake, and among the streams, and through the neighboring hills, scouting parties toiled at the same tasks as those we have seen busying the men at Fort Dummer.

THE TIDE TURNS

The operations in the Champlain Valley finally resulted in the abandonment of Ticonderoga, Fort Frederick, and Chimney Point by the French and the withdrawal to

Canada of garrisons and settlers in 1759. This evacuation of the country west of the Green Mountains brought a sense of relief to the frontiers of New England as well as to those of New York, because if it did not remove the source of depredations entirely, it put into friendly hands possession of the channel through which some of them had come. Furthermore, it left the English rangers free to begin a more aggressive work in exterminating their foe; and in the fall of 1759 an expedition was made for this purpose which certainly is entitled to a place in Vermont history.

The leaves were beginning to change color and the wild fowl to think of their southern homes, when Robert Rogers led a party of rangers through the woods and swamps of Canada to destroy the Indian village of St. Francis. This village lay about halfway between Montreal and Quebec, some three miles back from the St. Lawrence River. Here dwelt that tribe of Indians which for three quarters of a century had been the scourge of the New England border.

Setting out from Crown Point in whaleboats, the party managed to escape the French vessels which were still in armed activity on the lake, and coming to Missisquoi Bay, at the north end of the lake, they hid their boats and some provisions there. Then they started on their long march across country, through tangled swamps and untrodden ways. Within two days friendly Indians overtook Rogers with the news that his boats had been discovered by the French. The party was said to number four hundred men, and half of them were on his track. Rogers did not turn from his purpose. He

determined to outfoot his pursuers, destroy the village as he had planned, and escape by pushing on through the woods to the Connecticut River, instead of returning to Crown Point. He sent word to Crown Point to have provisions brought up the Connecticut River to the upper Ammonoosuc, to which it was hoped he might bring his party safely through.

Rogers's own account of this expedition was published over one hundred and thirty years ago, in London, and from the musty pages of the old book we can catch a glimpse or two of the story.

The 22d. day after my departure from Crown Point, I came in sight of the Indian town St. Francis, in the evening, which I discovered from a tree that I climbed, at about three miles distance. . . . At half an hour before sunrise I surprised the town when they were all fast asleep, on the right, left and center, which was done with so much alacrity by both officers and men, that the enemy had not time to recover themselves or take arms for their own defence. . . . A little after sunrise I set fire to all their houses, except three, in which there was corn, that I reserved for the use of the party. About seven o'clock in the morning the affair was completely over, in which time we had killed at least 200 Indians and taken 20 of their women and children prisoners, 15 of whom I let go their own way, and five I brought with me, viz. two Indian boys and three Indian girls. I likewise retook five English captives which I also took under my care. When I had paraded my detachment I found I had Capt. Ogden badly wounded. . . . I also had six men slightly wounded and one Stockbridge Indian killed.

The hardest part of his task was yet before him. He was in the enemy's country, and all hope of return by the way he had come was cut off. His one chance lay in getting through to the Connecticut, and pursuers were

hot on his trail. After much hardship he reached Lake Memphremagog, but he dared not try to hold the party together any longer. The supply of corn had failed. In order to enable them more easily to sustain themselves on such rough fare as the forest offered, he divided the company there east of the lake and told the detachments to assemble at the Ammonoosuc, if they could reach it. Then they parted, taking different routes. Some were captured by the pursuing Indians; some were killed; some sick and starving staggered through to the Connecticut River. His own party turned southward, on the east side of the lake, followed the Barton River to Crystal Lake, and went on over the summit into the Passumpsic Valley.

Meantime men with two canoes laden with provisions had made their way up the Connecticut River from Charlestown, New Hampshire, then known as Number Four, had come to Round Island near the mouth of the Passumpsic and camped there. On the second morning, fearing that an Indian party was in the neighborhood, they left the island and went back down the river, taking the provisions with them. At that moment, but a few miles up the Passumpsic, Rogers and his few famished stragglers were coming through the woods. They came to the Connecticut about noon of the same day and saw the smoke of the still smoldering fires of the relief party on the island. Signal guns were fired. The relief party heard them and hurried away down the river faster than ever. Making his way across to the island as best he could, Rogers found there only the smoking embers.

"It is hardly possible," wrote he, "to describe the grief and consternation of those of us who came to the Cohasse Intervals. Upon our arrival there after so many days' tedious march, over steep and rocky mountains, or through wet, dirty swamps, with the terrible attendants of fatigue and hunger, we found that here was no relief for us, where we had encouraged ourselves that we should find it." He continues: "At length I came to a resolution to push as fast as possible towards Number Four, leaving the remains of my party now unable to march further to get such wretched subsistence as the barren wilderness could afford." With Captain Ogden, a ranger, and an Indian boy, Rogers set out on a raft made of dry pines, and after being once wrecked and undergoing further disasters, at length reached the settlements more dead than alive, and sent back help to those of his comrades who were still living.

A few years before this a young man by the name of John Stark, of whom we shall hear more later, was captured by Indians while out hunting in the woods on the New Hampshire side of the Connecticut and was taken with his brother and two companions to Canada by much the same route that these half-starved wanderers of Rogers's party traversed. They went up the Connecticut, across to Lake Memphremagog, and thence into Canada. Stark showed so much bravery and spirit that he became a favorite with his captors and was treated kindly.

Between the time of Stark's capture and the great blow which Rogers struck at Indian power the settlers of New England carried on a more or less persistent and

systematic warfare against the Indians. The government of Massachusetts offered a reward for every Indian killed or captured; and ranging parties scoured the woods between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers, and as far north as Black River.

Companies of thirty or more men would take their course through the woods, marching either in divisions or by one common route through thickly wooded uplands, over jagged hills and steep mountains, across foaming rivers or beside gravel-bedded brooks. They adopted the Indian mode of warfare and beat the Indians at it. Nerve, capacity for endurance, courage, and unfailing marksmanship were trained in those days of forest ranging. What better stuff for peopling this state, for battling with the forests, and for building up the homes, could there be than the men who had thus wrenched it from the savagery of border wars and gained their schooling at the hands of Nature?

SPYING OUT THE LAND

From such accounts as Rogers left and from the pages of Colonel Kellogg's journal we can see one thing very clearly. If men were not settling in the wilderness, they were at least finding out a great deal about it, so that when days of peace and quiet should come men would know where it was good to go and settle. The work of the rangers was something like that of the spies whom Moses sent to search the land of Canaan before the children of Israel went into it.

Perhaps this is the best service of the scouting parties. They did not harm the French much; they did not harm

the Indians much; they alarmed them; and they helped a little in the work of carrying out the great English policy: but the great fact is, they made known the land. It would be a mistake to suppose that our colonists settled this affair between England and France. It was not fought out altogether in the New World; and what the rangers did toward it in the Green Mountains we can dismiss with few words. But we do need to think a great deal about this work of theirs in finding what the land truly was; for behind every homestead that was ever taken up and carved out of this wilderness there lay a good and sufficient reason, and we cannot understand the history of our state unless we think of these things.

Many of the names given in these records are the same that we use to-day for the same streams and places. You could follow many of the courses which the rangers took, as the historian Parkman when a college student tramped over the route of Rogers, from Lake Memphremagog to the Connecticut River.

Think how much could be learned on those swift, silent forest trips, — where the timber lay, and all the different kinds which grew, maple, birch, beech, oak, ash, cedar, spruce, hemlock, pines, and all the rest. Very many pines there were in those days, and noble ones too, so noble that the king of England said that they must be marked and saved for masts and spars to go in his royal navy. Then, too, from the tops of the mountains, where parties lay whiling away the hours watching for “smoaks” of Indian camp fires, many things besides smokes would be seen. You could not help seeing them, watching so sharply in all directions

for smokes, — the contour of the land, for instance ; the courses of streams through the valleys ; and here and there a bit of interval or stretch of beaver meadow, where a settler could cut the first hay for his cattle to last through the winter before his own land was cleared.

On those long journeys what woodcraft secrets would the forest farer learn ! What little joys of discovery would come to him every hour of the day ! He would learn where the deer yarded on the mountain, or browsed in the timber, or came down to the water in favorite runways. He would find which slopes the moose loved best. He would note the track of the bear and the curious work of the beaver. He would learn how far up the streams the salmon ran to their spawning beds ; he would learn where the trout were always plentiful ; and he would never forget where the water, choking up in a narrow channel and leaping over the rocks, would let a settler build the first mill to saw logs or grind grain.

When the corn that was planted at the fort had ripened in the summer's sun, and the grass had turned sere and brown on the marshes, and crimson and gold leaves were carpeting the forest, then it was time to think of the fall hunt. Then deer were fat and sleek and venison was sweetest. Then the tongue and steak of Bruin replenished the larder. The crackling fires of winter must be provided for and many a sturdy oak, maple, and birch laid low for the blaze of the great fireplace. When of an evening the men recounted their tales around the hearth, what wonder that the passion of the wilderness grew upon them ! What wonder that when peace came and they were free at

last from their enemy, the voices of the forest called them back to claim as their own the wilderness from which they had driven their foe! It was theirs now, this wilderness teeming with game, these lands where the Indian had hunted, these streams where he had fished. It was the white man's now, to enter in and possess.

CHAPTER III

THE WIDENING TRAIL

RYEGATE, Feb. 7, 1774.

We have now built a house and live very comfortably though we are not much troubled with our neighbors. . . . In the township above us (Barnet) there are about fifteen families, and in the township below (Newbury) about sixty. . . . There are some settlers sixty miles beyond us on the river. There are no settlers to the west of us till you come to Lake Champlain. There is a road now begun to be cut from Connecticut River to the lake, which goes through the middle of our purchase, and is reasoned to be a considerable advantage to us, as it will be the chief post road to Canada. . . . We have a grist mill within six miles of us, and a saw-mill within two and a half. We know nothing of the hardship of settling a new place, for the first settlers in the town below, only ten years ago, had not a neighbor nearer than sixty miles, and the nearest mill was one hundred and twenty miles down the river. The people here are hospitable, social, and decent. One thing I know, that here they are very strict in keeping the Sabbath.—*Extracts from a letter of General Whitelaw to his father in Scotland.*

ROADS IN THE WOODS

The military operations during the latter part of the French and Indian wars served another purpose than that of a training school for settlers. They opened up better roadways than the dim trails of the Indians or the blazed paths of white men. Rude roads they would seem to this age of graded highways, railroads, electric trolleys, and pneumatic tires; even in old stage-coach days, when wagon springs were rarer and leather thorough-braces were a luxury, they would have seemed poor; but they were first steps, and we must not overlook them or deem them of slight importance.

The course of the old Indian road was first made public by the diary of a traveler who passed over it from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain in 1730. The government of Massachusetts wanted to ascertain the exact course of this Indian thoroughfare, and obtained from James Cross the diary of his journal for this purpose. It runs as follows :

Monday, ye 27th. April, 1730, at about twelve of ye clock we left Fort Dummer, and travailed that day three miles, and lay down that night by West River, which is three miles distant from Fort Dummer. Notabene. I travailed with twelve Canady Mohawks that drank to great excess at ye fort and killed a Scatacook Indian in their drunken condition, that came to smoke with them.

Tuesday. We travailed upon the great River¹ about ten miles.

Wednesday. We kept up ye same course upon ye great River, travailed about ten miles, and eat a drowned Buck that night.

Thursday. We travailed upon the great River within two miles of ye Great Falls² in said River, then we went upon Land to the Black River above ye Great Falls, went up in that River and lodged about a mile and a half from the mouth of Black River, which day's travail we judged was about ten miles.

Fryday. We cross Black River at ye Falls,³ afterwards travail through ye woods N.N.W., then cross Black River again about 17 miles above our first crossing, afterwards travailed ye same course, and pitched our tent upon ye homeward side of Black River.

Saturday. We crossed Black River, left a great mountain on ye right hand and another on ye left.⁴ Keep a N.W. course till we pitch our tent after 11 miles travail by a Brook which we called a branch of Black River.

Sabbath Day. . . . We travail to Black River. At three islands, between which and a large pound we past ye River, enter

¹ Connecticut River.

³ Center Village in town of Springfield.

² Bellows Falls.

⁴ In the township of Ludlow.

a mountain that afforded us a prospect of ye place of Fort Dummer. Soon after we enter a descending country, and travail till we arrive at Arthur Creek¹ in a descending land. In this day's travail which is 21 miles, we came upon seven Brooks which run a S.W. course at ye north end of ye said Mountain. From Black River to Arthur Creek we judge is 25 miles.

Monday. Made Canoes.

Tuesday. Hindered travailing by rain.

Wednesday. We go in our Canoes upon Arthur Creek, till we meet two great falls in said River.² Said River is very Black and deep and surrounded with good land to ye extremity of our prospect. This day's travail 35 miles.

Thursday. We sail 40 miles in Arthur Creek. We meet with great Falls,³ and a little below them we meet with two other great Falls,⁴ and about 10 miles below ye said Falls we meet two other pretty large Falls.⁵ We carryd our Canoes by these Falls and come to ye Lake."⁶

Eighteen years later Captain Eleazer Melvin with eighteen men in his command set out on a military expedition from Fort Dummer through the wilderness toward Crown Point. He followed much the same route that Cross had taken, and he too left a journal of the road. We can locate the places which he describes, in the same way that we have located those of the earlier narrative.

They started from Fort Dummer May 13, 1748, went

¹ Otter Creek.

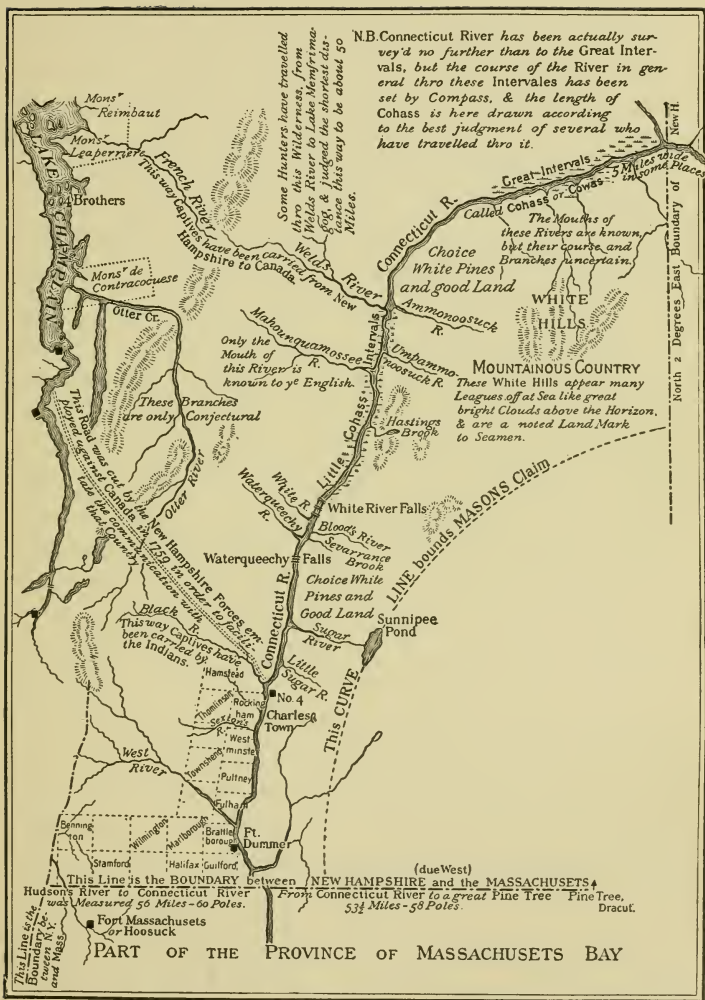
² Probably in the town of Rutland.

³ Middlebury Falls.

⁴ Weybridge.

⁵ Vergennes.

⁶ This is the diary of James Cross (or Coss) of his journey from Fort Dummer to Lake Champlain, made in April and May, 1730. I am indebted to B. H. Hall, *History of Eastern Vermont*, I, 21-23, for it, never having seen it elsewhere in print. It is probable that Hall took it from the original manuscript in the office of the Secretary of State, Massachusetts, A xxxviii, 126, 127. — E. D. C.



VERMONT AT THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

up the Connecticut to Number Four, then followed the Black River. On the 19th they crossed several large streams that were branches of the Otter Creek. They saw many signs of the enemy, both new and old, such as camps and girdled trees. On the 20th they marched over Otter Creek and around Sutherland Falls. Farther on they found several camps of the previous winter and beaten paths made by the enemy. On the 24th they came upon a camp fenced in with a very thick fence, and found there a keg of about four gallons' capacity which had been recently emptied of wine, as the smell indicated, and about twelve pounds of good French bread. They reached Champlain on the 28th, had a skirmish with a party of Indians, and began a retreat, pursued by about one hundred and fifty of the enemy. They came to Otter Creek in the town of Pittsford, about a mile below Sutherland Falls, marched to Center Rutland and camped. Before reaching Fort Dummer they had another skirmish and the party was scattered, four men killed, one wounded, and one taken prisoner.

The campaigns after 1755 confined active hostilities to Lake Champlain and Lake George, and in 1759 an especially good opportunity came to begin the work of widening out the paths to accommodate more than travelers by foot. General Amherst had with him at Crown Point before that year closed a large number of men from the New England provinces.

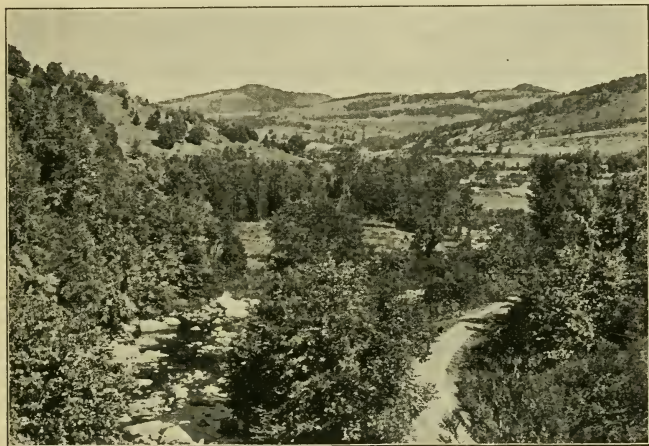
At the beginning of the year the New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops had gone to Ticonderoga by way of Albany and Lake George. You can see by

looking on a map that this route might have been shortened if they had been sure of an easy road across the southern part of what is now Vermont. But they were not sure of it. Some Massachusetts soldiers who tried to take a short cut home, after their service was over, got lost and had to camp in territory that they had never seen before. We shall hear more about it later, but it is worthy of mention here because it shows what a fine thing a road would have been.

Early in 1756 the government of Massachusetts voted to survey a road from Number Four through the woods to Crown Point, on the New York side of Lake Champlain. This road was designed to follow the course of the Otter Creek, after it had crossed the mountains and reached a point on that stream. The instructions which were given for making the survey show that it would be a good thing for persons who intended to settle in its vicinity. Those who made the survey were to observe "the true course of said creek, its depth of water, what falls there are in it, and also the nature of the soil on each side thereof, and what growth of woods is near it." These are the very things which intending settlers would wish to know.

This road was surveyed and actually cut through in 1759 ; and our friend John Stark, whom we left in captivity among the Indians in Canada, is again heard of, working on this road with two hundred rangers from New Hampshire. One could go on this road from the Connecticut River to the foot of the mountains with wagons and thence with pack horses to Rutland. Now we have seen that this road followed the course of

a famous old Indian trail, and have taken some pains to trace the growing familiarity of white men with it because it illustrates the method of the early settlers in coming into the state. Such routes were the most



THE OLD MILITARY ROAD NEAR CLARENDON

available and easiest of access, and their nearness to streams gave the settlers that direct assistance of nature which was a prime requisite for their progress, water power for the first mills.

As soon as enough settlements had been made to form town and county organizations, we find that acts were passed to provide for the opening up of roads so that the different towns could communicate with each other more easily. In 1766 an act was passed "for laying out, regulating, and keeping in repair, common and public highways." This was in Cumberland County, which you will not find on the map, because it was long

ago divided, most of it going to form Windham and Windsor counties. But such an act meant a good deal for the people of Cumberland County then. We find by this act that each town was to have three commissioners for laying out roads, and that the inhabitants of each town were to work on their roads six days in the year. The roads were to be not less than two and not over four rods wide. So we catch a glimpse of the way in which the first towns set about making their highways, and also learn how the old custom of "working out your highway tax" arose.

While on this subject of early road building we may as well take notice of another road which, although built some twenty years later, served exactly the same purpose in the northern part of the state as this road from Crown Point to Number Four did in the southern. That was the so-called Hazen road, built in the time of the American Revolution. It was not begun by General Hazen at all, although it was afterward named for him, but by a General Bailey, who was at Newbury in the spring of 1776 and who was ordered to open a road from the mouth of the Wells River to St. John's, Canada. It was designed for military purposes ; but as the American troops found it necessary to leave Canada with all convenient speed in that same year, the road was destined to serve the ends of peace, which after all are better than those of war.

So the road was stopped for the time being at Peacham. It was there that General Hazen took up the work three years later. He carried it on through Cabot, Walden, Hardwick, Greensboro, Craftsbury, and Albany, to Lowell, where he left it at a jagged cleft

in the soapstone rocks which goes to this day by the name of Hazen's Notch. Blockhouses were built along the way and doubtless served many a traveler as shelter for the night. When settlers began to come in greater numbers, after the Revolution, branches from the main road were built to various towns, such as those to Danville and St. Johnsbury. In 1794 and 1795 a road was built from the Hazen road in Greensboro through Glover, Barton, Brownington, and Salem to Derby. Sometimes it seems that people will do more for the sake of war than they will for the sake of peace; but in the matter of road building we cannot complain. There are few military measures which are productive of such direct and permanent benefits. This road, which did not amount to anything for the war, was worth a great deal to the incoming settlers and to the state in serving the ends of peace.

It was during the war, also, that the first road was opened from Mount Independence on Lake Champlain through Hubbardton to Center Rutland. A road was also made from Clarendon through Rutland to Pittsford; and one of the most important highways in the state for years was the road built from Rutland through Castleton and Fairhaven to Whitehall.

We must remember also the great service of those water courses and larger streams which offered smooth passage to canoe or laden boat. The Connecticut was such a stream on the eastern side of the state; it served the settlers now as unresistingly as it had the generations of red men in the past. On the western side of the mountains there were the great tributaries of Champlain enticing people into the heart of the country.

Having taken notice of some of the ways of entering the wilderness, let us now turn to the people who came and see what their work was.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS

The results of the French and Indian War from 1744 to 1749 had been the driving of the English from every fort and settlement in what is now our state, with the single exception of Fort Dummer. The result of the war from 1755 to 1760 was the driving of the French from every fort and settlement of theirs within the Champlain Valley. While we cannot expect to find permanent settlements within the state previous to 1749, we may be prepared to find a rapid inflow of settlers after 1760. In fact, at that date a few settlements had been made between the Massachusetts line and Bellows Falls, scattered along the west bank of the Connecticut.

When we compare this real beginning of the history of our state with that of the states just south of us, we realize with startling vividness how young we really are. Massachusetts was as old when the battle of Bennington was fought as our state is to-day. That is, in lapse of time Massachusetts and Connecticut had longer histories previous to that event than Vermont has had since. The founding of the first permanent settlement within the state stands almost exactly halfway between the landing of the Pilgrims and the present day.

As we begin to watch the progress of the settlement of the state we shall find that our attention will be drawn west of the mountains and that our interest will fasten with a peculiar fascination on one particular place.

Bennington is the pivotal point in Vermont's history. Her record has the charm of romance. Her site was discovered by accident; her settlement was the first one made west of the Green Mountains; hers was the first grant of Governor Benning Wentworth in the New Hampshire Grants; she was the first chartered town in the state; she was the center of excitement in the dispute with New York; her old Catamount Tavern was the rendezvous of the Green Mountain boys; her name marks a memorable battle.

A Connecticut captain returning from service in the French and Indian wars thought to shorten his route home by taking a more direct course than that by way of Albany. His route for this purpose should have been from Lake George up the Hoosac River as far as Williamstown, Massachusetts, and thence across the mountains to his own state. But he mistook one of the branches of the river for the main stream, and did not discover the mistake until he had gone well up toward the mountain without having passed the Hoosac forts. He then correctly reasoned that he was in the Walloomsac Valley instead of the Hoosac. So he camped for the night. The next morning he turned southward toward Williamstown and made his way safely home. But the sight he had seen pleased his eyes, and he was not content till he had purchased rights in the township and had interested friends and acquaintances to join him in emigrating to this new land.

The grant of the town had been made as early as 1749, but the proprietors, like many other grantees, did not settle on their land themselves, but sold out their

rights and interests to others who wished to move in as actual settlers. Bounties were offered for the building of the first gristmill and the first sawmill, those "modern conveniences" of early settlers. The settlement began in 1761, in early summer, when a party of twenty-two emigrants, numbering among them women and children, came on horseback over the mountains, passed the Hoosac forts, and arrived in the promised land on the 18th of June.

The first year was like that of many another settlement, a year of privation and hardship. But more settlers followed, coming up from Massachusetts and Connecticut, built houses, barns, and mills, worked the roads, and established schools, until in 1765 Bennington, thus named for the governor of New Hampshire who made the grant, was a thriving little town. A beginning had been successfully made, life in the wilderness was safe, apparently, from any human foe, hopes were high, and the tide of emigration set strongly in this direction. This much for the settlement of the town; we shall hear more of it presently in other ways.

If we turn back once more to the days when Lord Amherst occupied Crown Point, we shall find that one of his Connecticut soldiers, Benjamin Kellogg by name, was in the habit of coming frequently to the Vermont side of the lake, to the salt licks at Panton, to shoot deer. It is said that he supplied venison to the officers of the garrison at the fortress. However this may have been, after the army was disbanded in 1760, and the provincials returned home, this man continued to come for his annual fall hunt at the salt licks. Then returning home he would

tell his neighbors of the place where he hunted deer and what chances there were here and there for settlers to pitch. Finally, in the fall of 1765, there came with him one John Strong seeking a place for a home in the wilderness.

Three settlers in the previous spring had also come to begin a clearing about three miles north of Chimney Point, where the little stone fort had been. These men were working there when Kellogg and Strong came into the country ; so the latter made them a neighborly call, looked over the little clearing which represented their summer's work, helped them sow their wheat, and then took a look at the country to the eastward. They finally returned to the lake, and Strong decided to build there. He chose the location of an old French house as the site of his dwelling, and thus saved himself the trouble of digging a cellar and building a chimney. The three settlers requited his assistance to them by helping him put up the cabin.

In such ways the land became known and attracted the more adventurous spirits in the older colonies, until one by one or in little groups they had scattered over the state as far north as the Cohasse intervals, where the Indians had planted corn while their captives starved in the days of the French and Indian War.

It was not strange that the Cohasse intervals, or Coos meadows, as they were sometimes called, should attract settlers. They lay accessible on the well-known waters of the Connecticut ; they had long been known to captives, and rangers had more than once passed through them ; they had been used for years, perhaps

for generations, by the Indians as maize fields ; and the broad meadows, already cleared and covered with a rank growth of wild grass, were a standing invitation to the settlers who should first deem it safe to move in after the Indians had moved out. The broad river offered a highway thither, and as early as 1762 a few families ventured up the river and settled on opposite banks. The nearest neighbors were at Charlestown, sixty miles south. Thence the newcomers brought supplies by boat in summer, on the ice in winter. The settlement grew, and by the year 1765 Newbury was a well-organized town. The neighbors southward had so multiplied that there was scarcely a town on the west bank of the river that did not have a little group of pioneers. Benning Wentworth had been busy.

We might go on narrating the stories of the settling of other towns here and there, Bellows Falls, Windsor, Manchester, Guildhall, Middlebury, Vergennes, Rutland, Burlington, St. Albans, — all settled before the war of the Revolution. By the year 1765 Governor Wentworth had made grants of no less than one hundred and thirty-eight townships. The course of settlement was not as it is now, when cities spring from the plain in a day, and railroads carry westward between sunrise and sunset people enough to populate our state. Men were few in the colonies ; capital was scarce ; and people did not rush then as they rush now. But the traveler along the widening trail would see with growing frequency the rising smoke from the solitary cabin of some newcomer, would hear the sound of the plumping-mill at the time of morning, noon, or evening meal, and would catch the

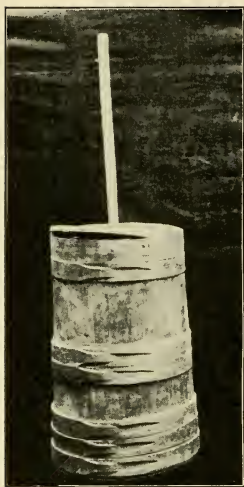
sound of the ax as it struck at the heart of the timber along the gentler slopes of the hills or in the valleys which nestled high up among the mountains.

LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS

If the traveler, although a stranger, had entered one of those cabins, he would have been welcomed with a hospitality which the present generation reserves for its particular friends. There was a purer democracy, a greater community of interests, and a nearer approach to equality among men than this state or this country will ever see again. When the population of a town consisted of one individual, as was sometimes the case, it enjoyed comparative freedom from the dangers of plutocracy, from the antagonism of the classes and the masses, and from the menace of organized labor. When every guest bore in himself the possibility of becoming a distinct addition to the social and laboring force of the community, and when if he were only a passer-by he was like a touch from the outside world, there were too potent reasons for entertaining him to allow of his being lightly dismissed.

There were a great many personal questions to be asked and answered, if there were no great public questions to be discussed; and it is safe to say that few travelers ran the gauntlet of such inquisition without giving some account of themselves more or less truthful. It must have been in those days that the far-famed and long-lived Yankee inquisitiveness was born. As for public questions, there were plenty of them. From the beginning of the dispute over the New Hampshire Grants to the close of the War of 1812 there were few

days when the people of the state did not have before them public questions as vital to the integrity of Ver-



OLD WOODEN CHURN

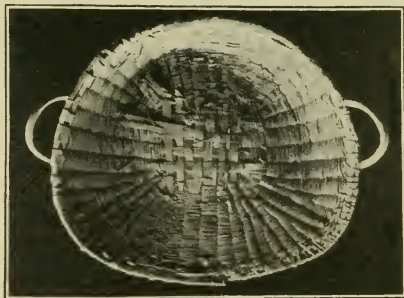
mont and as insistent upon immediate solution as any they have ever known. This period of time would cover the events of the Revolution, which brought Burgoyne into such unpleasant proximity, the period in which our state was maintaining herself as an independent republic, the embargo times, and the War of 1812 — certainly enough for one generation of men.

Another habit than inquisitiveness was then born of necessity among the farmers of our state, — and practically every man was then a farmer, — and that was the habit of incessant labor from dawn to dark. Along with the habit was cultivated the capacity for it. When every man must provide for himself and his family everything from the building in which they dwelt to the food with which they fed their bodies and the clothes which they put upon their backs, there was little room for idleness and small place for a man whose hand knew no cunning or did not possess a diversified and manifold skill. The home of the early settler in Vermont was as nearly self-sufficing as the necessities of an isolated situation and his own fertile inventiveness could make it. That is, it produced what it consumed to a remarkable degree.

It is safe to say that in this respect it was nearer the manor of mediæval times than like the farm life of to-day.

Modern industrial organization has reached modern farm life in all its phases and made it dependent in a thousand different ways. Take away transportation, take away markets, take away every machine-made thing, and you would throw us a long way back toward feudal times. In clothing, in food, in shelter, in household goods, in farming tools, nothing was then bought that could be made. Little money was seen, little was needed; for clothing was made at home; the forest and the pigpen furnished meat; tolls were taken at the mills for grinding grain; taxes were worked out or paid "in kind." Vermont taxes were light anyway. If a farmer raised more grain than he needed for his own use, he could exchange it for labor, which was more serviceable to him than cash.

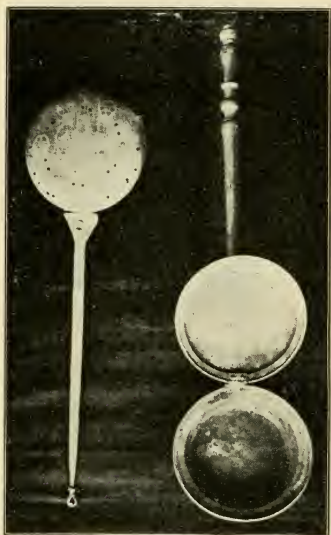
Let us look a little more closely at the principal features of this life. The conditions here portrayed are truly typical, though they would not all be present in every community, and possibly not all in any single settlement.



WINNOWING BASKET

We have already noticed one instance of settlers going into the wilderness, clearing land for their first

crops, sowing wheat, building a cabin, and thus laying in various ways the foundations of their new home before they took their families there to live. The hardships of frontier life were lightened greatly when this could be done; for a single favorable season might suffice to rear a little one-room cabin of logs, and secure grain enough from the mellow soil of the clearing to keep the house-



WARMING PANS

hold alive while the next year's crops were growing. Then, if the settler could take with him on his second trip, in the following spring, a cow, a pig, and some poultry, he would make the conditions of life quite tolerable for his wife and children from the start.

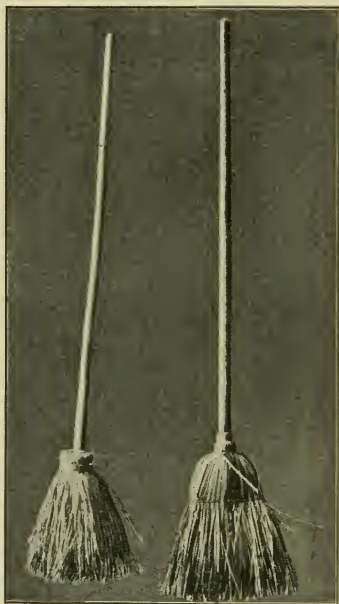
There were plenty, however, who began life under no such favorable circumstances. Men and women went bravely into the forest with little but stout hearts, strong bodies, an ax and a gun. Their first necessity

was a rude shelter; following that the clearing of a plot for the planting of Indian corn and a few vegetables like turnips, parsnips, potatoes, and possibly pumpkins. Meantime game from the forest, fish from the stream, or provisions brought on strong shoulders from the nearest settlement supplied the forest bill of fare.

When the nearest settlement was twenty miles away, "toting" provisions was no small task.

If there were no mill in the neighboring settlement, a homemade plumping-mill or samp mortar did service three times a day in pounding out corn for an unvaried diet. These mills were crude affairs, only a step in advance of the stone pestle and mortar of the aborigines. They were made by burning out a hollow in the end of a stump, then attaching a weight or plunger to a near-by sapling which would serve as a spring pole and in the hands of the operator act as a pestle to pound out the grain.

The sound of the mill could be heard a long distance through the woods or clearings and served to notify the traveler of his approach to some back-woods home, or to call the workers in the distant clearing to their simple meals. If reports are true, these mills were turned by inventive housewives into tongues of gossip when homes were too widely separated for a daily visit. If a gristmill were near, the sound of the plumping-mill was no longer heard in the land, but for a consideration



BIRCH SPLINT BROOMS

of two and one half quarts to the bushel the "pudding-mill" furnished a more expeditious and less laborious means of pulverization. If by good fortune the settler was the possessor of a cow, pudding and milk then furnished him a stable article of diet.

By the second harvest a greater variety would break the monotony of his fare. Occasional wheat cakes would appear, to be eaten with maple sugar made from the trees of the near-by woods. Sugar making under such primitive conditions resembled the crude Indian methods more than our present-day process with its improved buckets, spouts, holders, carriers, evaporators and all, to say nothing of the trim little sugar-houses, which then would have seemed like palaces to dwell in. Sugar making was conducted in the open, or by the side of the rough lean-to, with great open kettles or pots for the boiling; while the sap dripped from great gashes in the trees through homemade spouts of sumach or basswood into rough-hewn troughs.

It is said that the Indians used to make large troughs of pine trees, large enough to hold a thousand gallons of sap, and that the Indian women boiled this sap down by heating large stones in great fires and plunging them into the liquid mass until it had reached the desired consistency. A writer who traveled through portions of the state previous to the last century said that the sugar of the hard maple was of good grain and flavor, "fully equal in quality to the best muscavado." Whatever the quality, — and it probably varied as much then as now, — it served in many homes as the sole sweetening for cooking from one year's end to the other, unless

by some good luck a swarm of bees was discovered in the woods, or lined from the wild flowers of the clearing to their honeyed homes in some hollow tree.

The settlers planted fruit seeds on their first coming, and a few years rewarded them with gooseberries and currants, and presently with apples and plums. In

some parts of the state grapes, peaches, and pears were also raised in considerable quantities. In consequence of the abundance of apples, great quantities of cider were made to save them — and then drunk to save the cider; while an occasional distillery appeared to accommodate



AN OLD WELL-SWEEP

those who thought their mortal frames required the stimulus of a more potent liquid. Homemade malt and hop beer became popular drinks, and in time the demands of politics and a growing civilization evolved rum and molasses, punch, flip, and toddy. There was some water drunk, of course, even then, and plenty more of it to be

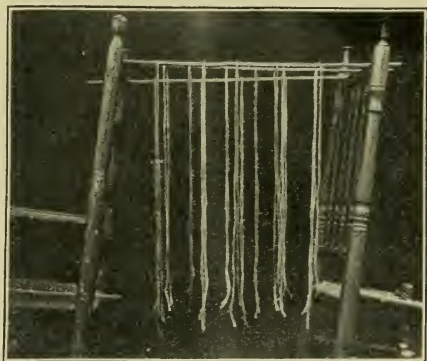
had in the cold springs that came bubbling up through the sand and stones, clear and sparkling.

When a beaver meadow lay near the settler's pitch his task of keeping cattle alive through the first winter was much simplified. Here was hay that could be cut and stacked without the labor of first clearing land. If several settlers dwelt near the meadow, it was only fair to hold it as common property. A good many interesting little bits of communal organization may be found in the histories of our first towns. The hay reeve and the hog ward became as necessary as any town officers, when cattle were plentier than fences. At such times it became a convenient and economical expedient to have one man assume authority over the several and individual members of the herd. When cattle ran in one common drove it sometimes became necessary as numbers multiplied to brand them or clip their ears with some distinguishing mark to identify the animals of different owners. Swine found pasturage in the woods, where they could live on roots and nuts. At Swanton a convenient disposal of them was made by taking them over to an island in the lake, where they could roam at will. Another reminder this of mediæval times, when the right of their hogs to run in the woods was made one of the demands of the peasants.

As the building of a gristmill marked an epoch in the life of the inner man, so the advent of the sawmill marked a change in outward appearances. It provided settlers with means of constructing more comfortable and less picturesque habitations than those of rough logs. The little one-room cabin with its great chimney

and fireplace at the end, through which as much light came as through the windows, could now be easily divided by a board partition into two rooms; perhaps it could be supplied with a floor beneath, and a loft overhead where the children could lie o' nights and watch the stars through the cracks in the roof till the sleepy eyes closed in slumber. Newcomers would build no longer log cabins but frame houses, if they built within convenient distance of the mill. Public buildings of some importance could now arise, and the more prosperous farmers could indulge in the luxury of board fences.

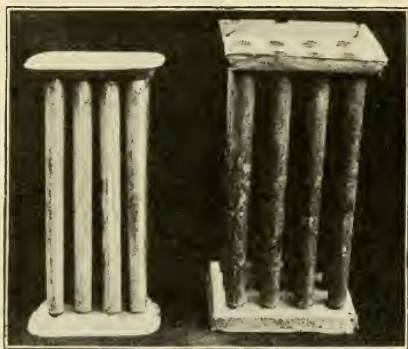
Indoors, life would go on much the same as before. When trees were standing around waiting to be cut and the woodsman needed his blows for clearing land, he did not stop to chop the firewood fine. Four-foot lengths for the



CANDLE DIPS

fireplace were not extravagant, and the bigger the backlog that could be placed upon the irons the better. In days when matches were unknown and the nearest neighbor from whom fire could be borrowed was perhaps a mile away, it was a virtue if not a necessity to keep fire always going. The evening's light from the fireplace was eked out by the "taller dip" or

candle, and candle-making time came to be a greasy day as much reckoned on in the calendar of labor as soap-making time or the fall slaughtering of the hogs.



OLD CANDLE MOLDS

Bear's grease, deer suet, and moose fat were all scrupulously saved and tried into tallow for candles; and some farmers kept bees for the wax as well as for honey, for wax candles were also used.

The fireplace was the cooking stove of

many a backwoods housewife, and it served its purpose well for many years, equipped with cranes and pots. Later, when bricks were made, ovens became a necessity instead of a luxury. Some women were enterprising and skillful enough to anticipate the brick oven by constructing of stones and clay ovens for themselves.

The women of those days deserve especial honor. Wives and mothers they, who were helpmates and workers always, in hardship and danger making the home life sweet, diligent with hands and head, with little time for thoughts of finery or any but the plain and simple and necessary things of life. Not that they lacked appreciation of fine things or that their period of exile killed the feminine taste for fashion. Indeed it did not; it was transmitted to their daughters, to blossom out in all its glory even to the third and fourth

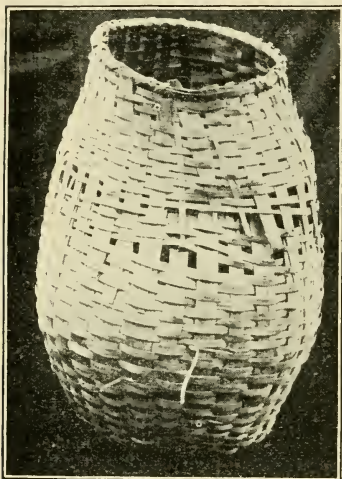
—and nobody knows how many more — generations. But those women in seedtime and harvest worked beside their husbands in the field, or in the absence of the men guarded the pigpen, sheepfold, and poultry house from the predatory bear, wolf, or fox. If their husbands were clearing in the field, they could pile brush; in potato digging, flax pulling, husking, and sugaring they lent helping hands. In addition to these tasks they did work within the cabin which would confound a housewife of the present day. In their hands rested in no small measure the training of the children; and in the life of the neighborhood, when doctors were few and far between, they were the ones who ministered to every ill that befell humanity from the cradle to the grave. What wonder that we still bow down to the virtue of "old wives' remedies."



AN OLD-TIME FIREPLACE, BRICK OVEN, AND
UTENSILS

It was a golden augury for the welfare of the state that schools and churches were among the first thoughts of the settlers after they had made the barest provision for their own homes. It speaks no less eloquently for

their efforts that the first schools were taught in corn barns by the light of the open doorway and the rays that came silting through the cracks between the boards, or in the hay barns vacant in summer, or on the stoops



GOOSE BASKET, USED TO HOLD
GOOSE FEATHERS AND SOME-
TIMES USED TO HOLD WASTE
FLAX

of log houses. Schools were begun when the means of their support were but a few bushels of corn or wheat voted by the town. Salaries of teachers were not high then; they never have been since. The story of one backwoods pedagogue is that when asked his terms he replied, gazing at the great mouth of the fireplace which occupied one end of the room, that he guessed he could cut the wood and teach the school for the ashes he

could make. The meaning of the remark will presently appear. Of course in winter school keeping on porches and in barns was out of question, and some of the more commodious private houses were called into requisition if no regular schoolhouse existed.

The first schoolhouses could hardly compare with ours, but they served well the purpose of their day. They were oftentimes plain log structures, with a fireplace at one end, a door at the other, and a window on

each side. Along the clay-chinked walls pegs were driven, and on these rough boards were laid to serve as desks. Some were more elaborately planned with a nearer approach to individual desks.

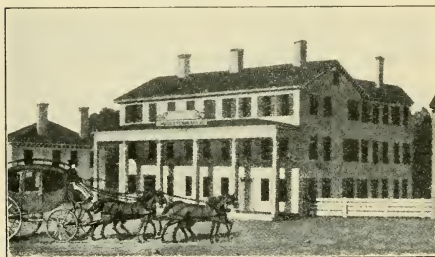
The early histories of the towns throughout the state reveal the high place in the life of the community which was taken by the churches and their pastors. The great number of preachers and religious denominations testify to a wholesome regard for spiritual things, to freedom of worship, independence of opinion, religious toleration, and, so far as such a thing can exist, religious equality.

As time went on a few new industries arose, based on the bounties of Nature. An iron forge was built here, a limekiln there; asheries, brickyards, and blacksmith shops began to appear. The beginnings were humble, but they were significant of far greater changes to come, when business should divide into multifold branches, and trades and crafts multiply almost beyond the comprehension of man.

For the most part, men were still farmers, and the greater portion of the state lay unreclaimed. So the work of settlement went on, along the high lands first, then creeping down little by little toward the river bottoms. On the higher slopes grew the hard wood, the stumps of which decayed quickly, covering the earth with rich, mellow soil which would yield sure crops the first year with no fertilizing. Lumber had but little value, but ashes of hard wood were everywhere salable for potash and pearlash, and yielded the settlers what little ready money they had. A double purpose was

thus served by clearing the hills first. Roads, too, were easily made on the drier uplands; while along the river bottoms, wetter then than now, they would have been impassable. So the old villages were perched upon the hills, and the old stage roads, some of which now are but bush-lined lanes, were put through them, running from hilltop to hilltop, up hill and down dale, in lines as straight as the crow takes in his flight.

Do not think that the life of those days was barren, dull, or meaningless. There were people who could



A TYPICAL OLD-TIME COACH AND
TAVERN

develop a statesmanship second to none, win and maintain independence, without the help of railroad, highway, or steamboat, without newspaper, telegraph, or telephone. Their strength and power

were bred in them, not acquired from outside. Such life was the training school of character. The men who gave their lives to toil knew how to make the toil a pleasure by the coöperation of the neighborly hand, in changing work, in raisings, logging bees, stone-pulling bees, husking bees, and many a homely frolic touched with service. If salted bear's meat was sometimes a necessary substitute for beef and pork, there was also the toothsome haunch of venison that was as sure to come as the autumn snows that gave the first sign for the fall hunt.

The streams yielded trout in abundance, and many a log cabin furnished fare that the sporting epicure of to-day would have to go far to equal.

The settlers had their politics, too, although it was no longer the French in Canada who disturbed their peace. Have you never thought how remarkably short the time was after the English government helped the colonists drive the French out of Canada before the French government turned about and helped the colonists drive the English government out of the colonies? That is, the war of the Revolution followed close upon the conquest of Canada. The American colonies still had their national politics. The settlers in the New Hampshire Grants, as our state was then called, shared in the national politics; not only that, but they first had a very exciting issue of their own in local politics, which demands a separate chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEBATABLE LAND

AT A COURT AT ST. JAMES,
the 24th. day of July, 1767.

His Majesty, taking the said report¹ into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his private council, to approve thereof, and doth hereby strictly charge, require and command, that the Governor or Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Province of New York, for the time being, do not, upon pain of his Majesty's highest displeasure, presume to make any grant whatsoever, of any part of the lands described in the said report, until his Majesty's further pleasure shall be known, concerning the same. — *Order of the King in Council.*

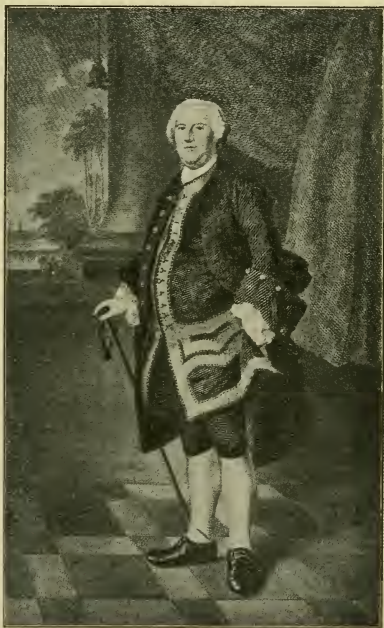
A SUBJECT OF DISPUTE: THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS

When the king of England appointed royal governors in his American colonies he gave them certain powers, such as the right to grant land which remained unsettled within their jurisdiction. It is apparent that in exercising this right the governors were in every case acting as officers or agents of the king, since it was under the king's authority that they acted at all. It would furthermore appear that this right to make grants of land would hold good for any portion of the province or colony over which the governor was appointed.

It happened that in the year 1741 Benning Wentworth had been appointed governor of New Hampshire under the king. He was given this right of

¹ Report of the Board of Trade on the disputed claims in the New Hampshire Grants.

making grants of land within his province. The western boundary of the province had never been very definitely described. The province simply ran westward till it met his majesty's other lands. Now since New Hampshire came from territory which had previously been a part of Massachusetts, and Massachusetts was supposed to extend westward until it reached a line twenty miles east of the Hudson River, Governor Wentworth reasoned that New Hampshire would also extend westward the same distance. He accordingly began to make grants of townships west of the Connecticut River, the first one thus granted being the township of Bennington, the settlement of which has already been described.



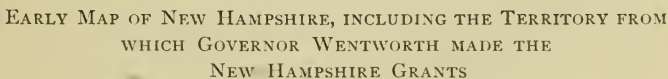
BENNING WENTWORTH

The governor of New York, when informed that grants were thus being made in this unsettled territory, raised objections on the grounds that land west of the Connecticut really belonged to the province of New York and therefore was under his jurisdiction, and that he was the one to

make grants if any were to be made. He based his claim on the boundary of the province of New York and on his commission and instructions.

We find, therefore, that two royal governors, acting for the same king, were in a dispute over the right to grant his territory. We can understand why it made some difference to them; because out of every township which Governor Wentworth granted he reserved a good portion for himself, and for every grant which Governor Clinton made he charged right good fees. It was for the interest of each to possess this right to make the grants, but we cannot understand why it should make any real difference with the validity of a settler's title whether it came through Clinton or Wentworth. They were both agents of the same authority; the grants made by either came really from the king, and a grant from the king of his own lands ought to have been good, no matter through whose hands it came.

Of course this question whether Governor Clinton or Governor Wentworth was correct in the matter was a question for the king to decide. The matter was referred to him for that purpose; the case was investigated by the proper officers; they reported it to be their opinion that the Connecticut River was the boundary between the two provinces. An Order in Council was accordingly issued declaring the Connecticut River to be the boundary between the provinces of New York and New Hampshire. This of course brought the grants which Governor Wentworth had made into the territory of New York.



EARLY MAP OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, INCLUDING THE TERRITORY FROM
WHICH GOVERNOR WENTWORTH MADE THE
NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS

But this was in 1764, a number of years after Governor Wentworth commenced to make grants. During the dispute he continued to make a few grants; after 1760 he made them with a diligence that was truly remarkable. You will remember that settlers in increasing numbers began to pour into the state in that year. The land which these settlers took had been granted in this way by the governor of New Hampshire. The country became known in consequence of this as the New Hampshire Grants.

When the order of the king reached New York the lieutenant governor published a proclamation announcing the fact and telling the settlers on the grants to govern themselves accordingly. Although the Order in Council and the proclamation came as something of a surprise to people who received their titles from New Hampshire and had become accustomed to regard that state as their parent and superior, the documents did not cause alarm. The settlers did not anticipate with pleasure the change in authority which the order involved, but they felt inclined to accept it without making trouble, for to them it appeared to be simply a change in jurisdiction which did not affect the validity of their titles.

It could hardly be expected that the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants would like the jurisdiction of New York as well as that of New Hampshire. These settlers were mostly New England men, and New England people had their own ways of doing things, which differed from the New York methods. For example, the New York lands had been granted in old Dutch times, before the English took possession, and were held under

what was known as the patroon system. This gave large tracts to a few men instead of small farms to a great many men. One man might possess thousands of acres ; but the men who worked on this land would be nothing but tenants of his, instead of independent owners of farms of their own. It was quite different from the New England method. However, so far as tenure of their farms was concerned, the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants did not anticipate trouble, for they already owned them.

In the matter of government, too, the settlers could not expect much voice, for in administering affairs the New York way was not at all like their own. In New York the government was more aristocratic, and we have seen that the settlers were very democratic. In New York even the local officers were appointed either directly or indirectly by the central authority. The settlers had become accustomed to appointing for themselves whatever local officers they needed. Their town meetings had come to be a sort of foundation of government, a political nursery and training school. The two systems were essentially different, and the settlers would have to accustom themselves to the change ; but after all they were under the same king, and a mere transfer of jurisdiction was not worth revolting against, if that were all.

But a mere change of jurisdiction was not all, as presently appeared. First, rumors began to float about that the governor of New York was taking the king's order not only to establish future jurisdiction over the grants, but to annul present titles. He was going to make the Order in Council retroactive in its effects. This meant that the settlers must abandon their homes

— the homes which they had bought, cleared, and paid for — or pay for them again in fees and exorbitant charges to the New York officials. A very different matter this from submitting to a mere change in jurisdiction.

Presently, in confirmation of the rumors, men began to appear from New York, bringing surveyors with them; and in the summer and fall of 1765 they busied themselves by running lines, setting up stakes in the fields, and marking trees in the woods. They were preparing to claim lands under New York patents. The settlers became alarmed for the security of their property and sought redress. But redress was hard to get. They were under the jurisdiction of the power which was robbing them. It was hopeless to appeal to the party that was taking away their rights, yet they did appeal. They did all they could decently and in good form, — appointed agents to represent their case, sent to New York asking the governor's protection since they were under his authority, sought legal redress. But it was of no avail. City speculators had already bought up grants of their best lands, and for the remainder, if they chose to retain them, fees were demanded which were said to be as much as the land itself was worth. In other words, they must pay for the labor which they had themselves expended on their own estates.

It is apparent that, although this controversy actually began in one town, the issue was really not a local issue at all. If the settlers were beaten in one town, the same thing would happen in every town of the New Hampshire Grants. The cause was a general one, and the settlers had the sagacity to see that organized and concerted

action was necessary. We shall presently study the form which that action took.

That they were right in assuming that change of jurisdiction was all that the king's Order in Council contemplated was shown conclusively in 1767. The king had been informed of the trouble which the action of the governor of New York was making in the grants; and in order to settle that controversy and forestall any further conflicts he issued in 1767 a second Order in Council on the subject of dispute. It positively forbade the governor of New York to make any further grants of disputed territory. This showed that the settlers' titles were valid, and that the Order in Council of 1764 was not intended to give the governor of New York any authority to grant over again to some one else lands which had been granted once by the governor of New Hampshire to purchasers in good faith.

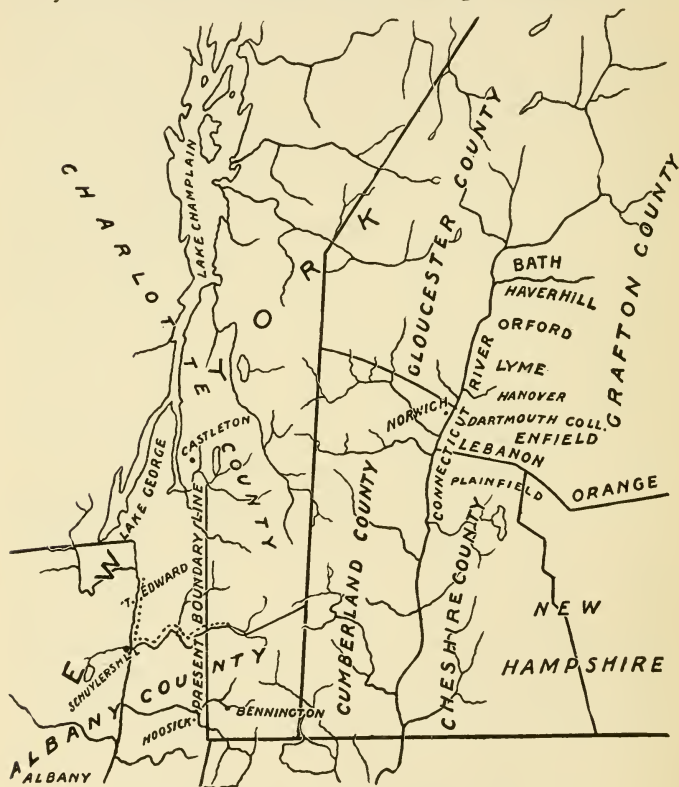
But the governors of New York had been emulating the example of Benning Wentworth and had already made enough grants of just this kind to give the settlers a lively fight to retain their homes. Not only this, but the king's second order was treated as a nullity and grants were made continuously by the governor of New York and his successors with one exception to the days of the American Revolution.¹

THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS

The people of the New Hampshire Grants had been living plain, simple lives, without getting into quarrels and without making much noise in the world. They had

¹See Appendix, Part III, Table A, for the amount of the grants and the fees.

little money, slight legal counsel, no influence. They were under the necessity of conducting their own defense. They did it; and if ever an inherent Anglo-Saxon sense of



VERMONT DIVIDED INTO FOUR COUNTIES UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF NEW YORK

constitutional procedure was shown, it was when they submitted their cause to be tried at Albany, in the regular way, in the courts of the power that was overriding them,

after that power had shown indubitable signs of what its policy would be, by sending home their agents from New York with answers that showed the hopelessness of further appeal.

As the contest went on it looked as though the New York authorities regarded it as one of the instances in which might makes right. The attorney general plainly intimated this. Ethan Allen responded in scriptural phrase that "the gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills." On being questioned by the official as to the interpretation thereof, Allen replied that if he would come to Bennington the meaning would be made plain to him. It was made plain, and at Bennington, although the attorney general was not there.

When the test cases were called at Albany the court refused to allow the charters of the town and the deeds of the settlers to be presented as evidence. There could be, therefore, no defense. The settlers were stripped of legal recourse, and verdicts were rendered for the New York grantees. The result of these ejectment suits at Albany in June, 1770, conclusively demonstrated one thing: there was no means of legal redress, and further appeal to New York was useless. It was well for the settlers that the decision was not equivocal. No possible doubt could be left in their minds now as to what they must do.

Since the New York claimants, supported by the decision of the courts, would surely attempt to eject the settlers, it remained for the latter to provide means to retain their homes and defend them. The conditions under which the settlers were placed were such as they

had never before been called on to face. There was nothing, therefore, in their experience to provide for such an emergency, nothing in their town governments to handle such cases as those now in hand, no organization existing which could act for them.

It might be a very simple matter to repel the sheriff who came to serve the writs of ejectment upon the settlers whose titles had been condemned in the New York courts; it would be a far different matter to deal with the full force of royal authority in the province which stood behind this officer, if that should be called into requisition. It was with a full understanding of the remoter consequences which their action involved that the settlers prepared for defense.

The issue came first to the town of Bennington when the defendants in the ejectment suits came back from Albany beaten in the courts. The town of Bennington met the issue by calling a meeting to determine the sentiments of the inhabitants and voting to take the defendants under the protection of the town. It was no non-committal step; but really the town could do no less, for the result of this issue would determine the strength of New York laws and the fate of the settlers in the grants. The action of the town, therefore, was not merely heroic or self-sacrificing; it was necessary to self-preservation. Everything was at stake. If these writs were executed, it would be the turn of some one else next, and so on to the end. The time to face the issue was at the start.

The sheriff was not able to execute the writs without assistance. Gathering a large posse, he approached the

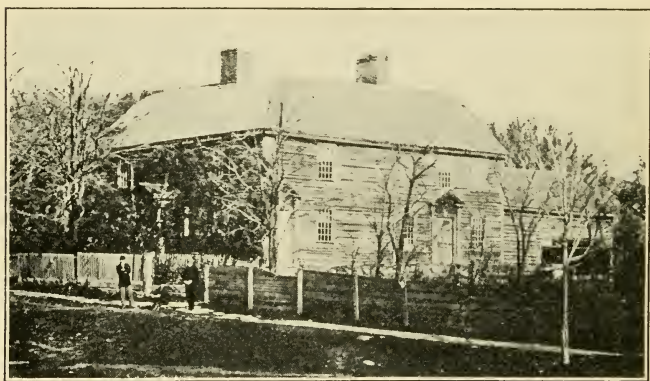
farm of one of the defendants, Breakenridge by name. But warning of his project had spread, and when he arrived the settlers were prepared to receive him. The sheriff was no coward, but circumstances were unfavorable for the performance of his duty. The settlers had posted a hundred well-armed men in the woods which ran along the ridge of the slope where the farmhouse stood; across the tilled field to the southeast, but within gunshot, was a smaller force; the house itself was barricaded and garrisoned.

The settlers met sheriff Ten Eyck with the warning that they should hold their own at all costs, and when he seized an ax and threatened to smash in the door, he found the points of too many muskets leveled at him to make it a prudent undertaking. These men rarely missed their aim. He retired with discretion, and not a shot was fired on either side. The posse dispersed, as one writer says, "with commendable speed to their own homes," and the gods of the hills were left in peaceful possession of their own.

While this was a bloodless victory, its importance should not be underestimated. It turned the tide of events in favor of the settlers and against the New York claimants at just the critical moment, and by so doing it gave the defenders of the grants a premonition of the success which was to be theirs in spite of the adverse rulings of the Albany court, if they only stood stanchly together. It also showed their opponents the temper of these people, and that it would be no small power that could dispossess them of their homes. Furthermore, it made the town of Bennington the leader

and the headquarters of the opposition to New York claimants.

But the issue was not settled. Defense could not stop where it had begun. It yet remained to establish a more systematic and definite form of resistance through the western townships. Town meetings and conferences were held, and the organization of military companies began under an association which took its name from a threat



THE OLD CATAMOUNT TAVERN

which the governor of New York had made to drive the opponents of his authority into the green mountains, — the name of the Green Mountain Boys.

In this controversy there appears for the first time in the public affairs of the state the figure of Ethan Allen. He came from Connecticut to Bennington in the time of the land-grant dispute as a proprietor under the New Hampshire charters. He was 'sturdy, self-reliant, and possessed of those commanding qualities which go to

make natural leaders in such epochs. He threw himself whole-heartedly into the struggle, helped the defendants prepare their cases for trial with as much skill as a trained lawyer, became a leader of the Green Mountain Boys when it was necessary to bid defiance to the process of the courts, and was a dominant figure in their councils held at the old Catamount Tavern of Landlord Stephen Fay.

The sign of this green mountain hostility was the stuffed skin of a catamount, reared aloft on a pole, facing with grinning teeth the New York border. In this tavern the leaders of the Green Mountain Boys matured their plans, and in later days, during the troublous times



MONUMENT MARKING THE SITE OF THE
CATAMOUNT TAVERN

of the Revolution, the Council of Safety met and pondered around the old fireplace across whose top were cut in rude letters the words COUSIL ROOM.

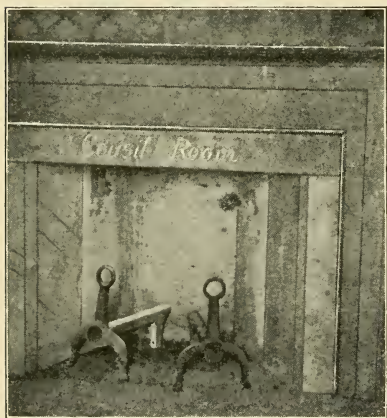
BEGINNINGS OF STATECRAFT

It is an interesting story and well worth looking into, this story of how the settlers on the New Hampshire

Grants maintained their own. In spite of its unquestioned seriousness, not only to those whose lives, liberty, and property were hazarded, but also for the future of the state, there is a certain grim humor about the whole situation which lends it a distinct and spicy flavor.

Here were two parties, like angry school children, calling each other all sorts of opprobrious names. The one faction was stigmatized as a crowd of "land jobbers,"

"land thieves," "land pirates," "speculators," "Yorkites"; the other side was known by such dire and dreadful names as "the Bennington mob," "wanton disturbers of the peace," "rioters," "conspirators," and the like. Here were the Green Mountain Boys occasionally chastising the more persistent of



THE FIREPLACE IN THE COUNCIL ROOM
OF THE CATAMOUNT TAVERN

their enemies with "twigs of the wilderness, the growth of the land which they coveted," setting with the terrible solemnity of thirty-nine lashes an indelible impression of the "beech seal" upon both the mind and bared back of the recipient. It was tangible evidence that the Green Mountain Boys were acting under some authority or other. Here were the New York officials offering rewards for the capture of Ethan Allen, Remember

Baker, and other leaders of this band of Robin Hoods, and they in like fashion returning the compliment, although at a significantly lower figure.

But we observed the really essential thing when we took notice of the manner in which the settlers began their determined resistance to encroachment. From that alone we could foresee that out of all this trouble, some of which looks more like rough horseplay than statesmanship, there would come in due time a training in the practical management of their own affairs, a rude but effective organization of executive machinery, conservative legislation, and a sense of justice which would preserve to every man his own, and guarantee his rights to each one who fulfilled his duties : all of which things were to fit the settlers on the New Hampshire Grants for the task of building on these foundations a true and loyal state.

It may appear ill advised to apply the term conservative to the actions of men who were doing what has been described. But it was simply this. They were not revolutionists seeking to overthrow and uproot an existing order of things ; they stood for the preservation of the existing order ; they were conservers of the public weal.

Let us review the really essential features of their work, in order to see how unfailingly constructive it was. Let us look now, not for the picturesque features, but for underlying principles.

From the time of their first settlement and organization the towns of the New Hampshire Grants had by the terms of their charters certain powers of self-government

in March meeting through the election of town officers and the direction of town affairs. At a time when settlements were few and isolated and there was no general cause or public question this might well comprehend the government of the grants. But the courts of New York sought to annul these charters and by so doing destroy every right that was based thereon. That was a blow struck at the government of every town in the grants, and it created, therefore, an issue broader than that of the government of any single town.

The towns might keep on exercising, each for itself, their prerogatives, but this would not be enough to meet the needs of a cause which was sure to become general. Some further organization was forced upon them collectively for the preservation of what they already possessed as individual towns. The administrative needs were like those which confronted the American colonies on the eve of revolution, and it is instructive to note that in both cases these needs were met in exactly the same way, that is, by the work of committees.

The first step in this work was the appointment and organization in the several towns of committees of safety to provide for the defense and security of property claimed by the New York litigants. And since the cause was a general one, in a far truer sense than the cause of Massachusetts was a general one among the American colonies at the beginning of the Revolution, it would be the truest and most effective economy to provide general or coöperative protection. These town committees, therefore, met to provide means for

it, and you have the next step beyond the town meeting in state building, and that is the convention.

Since protection involves defense, and defense involves the use of force if needed to repel attack, the next step for the combining towns to take was to provide a military force. To meet this requirement you find the Green Mountain Boys, a crude military force, perhaps, raw, undisciplined, irregular, but a military force nevertheless, and one that acted for the common weal.

Now let us see what we have found thus far. It is nothing less than a government in embryo, — local government in town meeting, general government in convention, standing army in the Green Mountain Boys. We must admit that it was not a highly perfected form of government. It had no constitution; it had no judiciary; it had not a great many things which we consider indispensable adjuncts of government to-day. But it had the things it needed, and the important point to notice is that as fast as it needed more it was developing them.

When the war of the Revolution came, as it did before this contest with New York was settled, it found the New Hampshire Grants with this simple machinery of government in good running order. Of course the Revolution brought with it new needs. All the emergencies of that war could not be foreseen, but it was pretty certain that the British would operate from Canada through the Champlain Valley. That alone would involve the collecting and officering of troops, the defending of frontiers, and the raising of funds for general expenses. Then, too, this was a cause of colonies, not of towns merely. The New Hampshire Grants

must act as a unit. They must be represented as a whole, their claims reviewed, summarized, formulated, and presented to Congress. Broad provision must be made for the broad needs imposed by a national war. In short, some new body was needed of a higher grade than these committees of safety, even when they assembled in general conference. Out of this need arose that series of remarkable conventions which built up out of the scattered townships of the New Hampshire Grants a strong, solidified, and stable commonwealth, the independent state of Vermont.

The work of these conventions demands a separate chapter, but this much can be noted in passing: these committees, which temporarily took the case in hand when the separate townships first felt the need of combined effort, yielded to the more permanent organization of the state, just as in the separate colonies similar committees, which began and worked up the Revolution, yielded their organization to that of the United States. In both cases temporary bodies carried the work on through a transition period. In both cases independence brought permanent burdens which such bodies could not well carry. In both cases the functions of these temporary bodies were then merged with the functions of a permanent government. The similarity is more than analogy; it is identity of principle.

THE "WESTMINSTER MASSACRE"

If there is any one event which illuminates the state of affairs in the New Hampshire Grants as they passed over the border line between local and national politics,

—that is, from their own conflict with New York into the larger conflict which the colonies as a whole waged against the mother country, — that event is the episode commonly known as the “Westminster Massacre.” It is an event which stands on the dim boundary between local and national interests and throws light in both directions. It was an occurrence which unified the sentiments of the grants, intensified their opposition to New York, and roused resentment against England, under the cover of whose authority New York was acting.

It is noticeable that up to this point the controversy with New York had involved only the western part of the state. Nothing had happened on the eastern side to indicate any great interest in the question which was the all-absorbing one west of the mountains. The settlers in the Connecticut Valley had shown no striking zeal in espousing the cause against New York; neither had they been of assistance to that state in upholding its authority. They were remaining quiet, and for a good reason. Many of the grantees along the Connecticut River had surrendered their original charters and taken out new grants under the seal of New York. The officers of that state, therefore, had little reason to make themselves obnoxious in that vicinity; while there was, on the other hand, no object for the settlers to provoke or participate in a quarrel with an authority which they had already recognized.

Notwithstanding this apparent absence of sympathy between the eastern and western grants on this issue in local politics, there were strong underlying ties sufficient to bind them closely in the greater emergency

which was to confront the American colonies as a whole. These settlers in the Connecticut Valley had come, like the others, from Massachusetts and Connecticut. They were in close touch with their Massachusetts neighbors. They were of old Puritan stock, Protestant to the bone. When England by the "Quebec bill" legalized the Roman Catholic religion in Canada, the instincts of early Protestantism became manifest. Lieutenant Spaulding of Dummerston referred to the king as the pope of Canada, a remark uncomplimentary but harmless. The royal faction picked it up, however, and imprisoned Spaulding on a charge of treason, at Westminster, Oct. 28, 1774.

On the next day a majority of the excited inhabitants of Dummerston met and chose a committee of correspondence "to join with other towns and respectable bodies of people, the better to secure and protect the rights and privileges of themselves and fellow creatures from the ravages and embarrassments of the British tyrant and his New York and other emissaries." Notice the union of the two issues : the British tyrant and his New York emissaries are at last linked together in the public mind. The movement thus started gained such headway that a large body of men from Dummerston and the adjoining towns met, went to Westminster, opened the door of the jail, and released Spaulding from imprisonment.

This brought matters to a crisis. If royal authority was to be maintained, perverters of his majesty's justice must be brought to punishment. But it so happened, opportunely for the settlers, that almost simultaneously with their action came news of that memorable meeting

of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, which was followed by the closing of his majesty's courts throughout the land. In all the colonies except New York royal authority was almost universally suspended.

But several months were yet to elapse before the session of the Cumberland County Court at Westminster, and the adherents to the royal cause were as determined to hold that session as their opponents were that it should not be held. The intervening time was therefore used by both parties in preparation. Efforts were made to dissuade the judges from holding the court, but they persisted that it should be done. Some of the people then took possession of the courthouse in order to forestall the royal party. This was on March 13, 1775.

About sunset of that day the sheriff came with the court party, armed with guns, swords, and pistols, and demanded entrance, at the same time ordering the crowd to disperse. This they refused to do unless the sheriff ordered his men to lay aside their arms. About ten o'clock that night the chief justice went into the crowd and assured them that they should hold undisputed possession of the building till morning, when the court would enter without arms and hear what they had to say. A considerable part of the crowd then withdrew, leaving some men on guard in the courthouse, armed with clubs.

Contrary to the declaration of the judge, the sheriff and his party approached about an hour later and again demanded entrance. When it was refused, they fired into the house. An assault was then made and the courthouse taken, with some twenty men in it who

were not able to make their escape. These prisoners were thrown into the jail, and thither were dragged the bodies of the wounded men, among whom was a young man named William French, who was dying with five bullet holes in his body.

The men who succeeded in escaping from the courthouse when the assault was made rapidly spread the news of the murder, and the next day the streets of Westminster swarmed with angry farmers. The court met in the morning, but adjourned until afternoon. That court never reassembled. The town was too hot to hold the members of the court party, and the wise ones left at once. A jury of inquest brought in a verdict that the man was murdered by the court party, and several officers implicated in the killing were lodged in jail at Northampton, Massachusetts. An application for their release was made by the chief justice of New York, and they were allowed to go.

These proceedings were sufficient to rouse once for all the spirit of opposition to New York on the eastern side of the mountains. In the month of April an assembly of people met at Westminster and renounced the administration of the New York government until such time as his majesty might settle the controversy and — so the petition ran — remove them from so “oppressive a jurisdiction.” Eight days later the battle of Lexington was fought. His majesty had issued his last order that was ever observed by the American colonies.

Thus the settlers on the east side of the mountains were driven to make common cause with their brethren on the west against New York; thus the killing of

William French at Westminster was the event that united the sentiments of the New Hampshire Grants and merged their issue of local politics into that of national politics; thus the war of the Revolution was begun. The key to the whole situation lies in the fact that the royal officers who so violently took matters into their own hands at Westminster were New York officers, and that of all the northern colonies New York was the most loyal to the crown and the most lukewarm in its sympathy for the American cause.

An anonymous ballad published in 1779 shows that the affair at Westminster was worked up along with other events into popular airs to infuse a more martial spirit into the *vox populi*. One stanza runs :

But Vengeance let us Wreak, my Boys,
For Matron, Maid and Spinster;
Whose joys are fled, whose Homes are sad,
For the Youth of Red Westminster.

Above the grave of William French at Westminster was placed a stone with an inscription which reflects both the spirit and the literature of the times.

In Memory of William French Son to Mr. Nathaniel French
Who Was Shot at Westminster March ye 13th 1775 by the hands
of Cruel Ministerial tools of Georg ye 3d in the Corthouse at a 11
a Clock at Night in the 22d year of his Age.

Here William French his Body lies
For Murder his blood for Vengeance cries
King Georg the third his Tory crew
tha with a bawl his head Shot threw
For Liberty and his Countrys Good
He Lost his Life his Dearest blood.

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

SARATOGA, August 20, 1777.

The Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race on the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left. — *Burgoyne in a private letter to Lord Germaine.*

THE TAKING OF TICONDEROGA

While Vermont was fighting her way along toward independent statehood, the thirteen American colonies, joined together, fought out a quarrel with England which left them an independent nation so far as nations can be independent. This misunderstanding in the Anglo-Saxon family, which goes by the name of the American Revolution, was so much larger than the little wrangle which the New Hampshire Grants were having with New York that it completely obscured the latter for the time being. We have come to a point, therefore, where we shall have to turn from local politics to notice that larger question of national politics. Into the causes of the Revolution we cannot go; of its progress we can only note such parts as touch the history of our state.

After the expulsion of the French from the Champlain Valley, the military posts on the lake were left in the hands of the English. The situation, then, at the opening of the Revolution was this: the forts were

garrisoned by British soldiers ; the British government possessed Canada and its resources. This military advantage would be used to operate upon the northern border in quelling the rebellious colonies. Along the old war route the British possessed the same facilities for bringing their forces into action as the French had possessed years before in operating against the English.

In New England it appeared to the leading spirits of the Revolution that the danger of a British invasion from Canada would be greatly lessened if these military posts were taken away from the British at the start, before they had been strengthened by additions to the garrison and preparations for defense. The idea was conceived in several quarters. An agent who passed through the grants on a secret mission to Canada wrote to the Boston Committee of Correspondence that such a move would be desirable, and that the Green Mountain Boys would undertake it. Parties in Connecticut also matured the same project and entered at once upon its execution.

After raising funds to defray the expenses of the expedition, the Connecticut patriots hastened to Bennington to confer with Ethan Allen. They found him enthusiastic, and preparations for the enterprise were immediately begun. In a few days Allen had at Castleton nearly two hundred volunteers. The Connecticut contingent had picked up some fifty men on their way to Castleton. The total number was sufficient to warrant the attempt. Presently Benedict Arnold arrived from Massachusetts, authorized by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to take charge of the expedition.

The Green Mountain Boys preferred their own leaders, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner ; and although Arnold accompanied the expedition he was not put in command.

To gain intelligence of the conditions at the fort a spy was sent into the works. In the guise of an awkward farmer who wanted to be shaved, Noah Phelps passed unsuspected in and out and gained the needed information. The march was made in two detachments from Castleton to the lake. One party was sent under Major Beach through Rutland, Pittsford, Brandon, Middlebury, and Whiting, a circuit of about sixty miles, in which they gathered recruits, to Shoreham. Allen meantime marched thither the remainder of the men, going north till they struck the old military road which John Stark had worked on sixteen years before and following that toward the lake. On the evening of the 9th of May the detachments gathered by the lake opposite Ticonderoga, and the garrison at the old fort had not heard a whisper of the design. Two hundred and seventy men were at the water waiting to cross.

During the night, by stratagem and stealth, boats were obtained to serve as transports. Under cover of the fleeting darkness Allen embarked with about eighty men, all that the boats would carry. They landed near the fort and sent back the boats for the others. But while they waited the day began to dawn, and Allen dared to delay no longer. He called on those who would follow him to raise their muskets, and every gun went up. He turned toward the fort, guided by a young lad who had played with the boys at the garrison until he had grown familiar with every nook and corner of the

place. Thus in the gray of the morning the little company silently advanced.

The sentry at the gate snapped his fusee at Allen, but it missed fire; and the first warning which came to the garrison was the sound of the huzzas as the Green Mountain Boys formed in line on the parade ground within the fort, while their leader was demanding of Delaplace, the British commander, who stood half-clad at the door of his chamber, the immediate surrender of the works, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress."¹

So in early morning on the 10th of May, 1775, without the firing of a gun or the loss of a life, Ticonderoga was taken with its garrison and stores by the Green Mountain Boys. One writer has thus pictured the situation: "Before the members of the second Continental Congress had breakfasted the first day of their session, the key to Lake Champlain and the guns at whose bidding General Howe was to evacuate Boston the next spring had been captured by a band of backwoodsmen under the command of New York outlaws." Crown Point was taken on the same day by Seth Warner, and with it over a hundred pieces of cannon. A fleet fitted up by Arnold and Allen presently sailed down the lake and captured an armed sloop lying at St. John's. The mastery of Lake Champlain was complete.

Congress voted to pay the Green Mountain Boys for their services at Ticonderoga and recommended that a regiment be formed on the New Hampshire Grants.

¹ This is the language which Allen says he used. Tradition reports another version of his words, less elegant but equally forceful.

A convention met at Dorset in July and chose officers ; Seth Warner was made commander. Ethan Allen was taken in a premature attempt to capture Montreal and was sent in irons to England. He was later returned to New York and exchanged in 1778. Warner's regiment assisted in the military operations which led to the taking of Montreal after its defender, Carleton, abandoning the city to its fate, had escaped down the river by night in a canoe.

At Quebec, whither Carleton had fled, the American troops met with disaster. Then began a long retreat of the broken army back to Ticonderoga. The commander, Wooster, wrote to Warner as the army, defeated, sick with smallpox, and in the midst of a hostile country, began to withdraw :

You and the valiant Green Mountain Corps are in our neighborhood. . . . You all have arms and ever stand ready to lend a helping hand to your brother in distress. . . . Let the men set out at once, by tens, twenties, thirties or fifties. I am confident that I shall see you here with your men in a very short time.

He did. Warner's regiment did good service in protecting the rear of the defeated and retreating army and bringing it safe to Ticonderoga.

It would be easy to overestimate the importance of the capture of Ticonderoga. About a hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen-inch mortar, and a number of swivels were captured there, and a quantity of military stores ; but the strategic advantage which would have been gained by retaining the fort was entirely lost two years later when the American forces abandoned it on the approach of Burgoyne's army. The important fact

is that the efforts of the Green Mountain Boys placed it at the disposal of the American cause to use for better or worse. The part they took in the affair proved their ability, their intrepidity, and that they were as true patriots as could be found on the continent.

The details of the campaign in the Champlain Valley for the next year we need not follow. For several months of the year 1776 there was a navy yard at each end of the lake ; the British at St. John's, the Americans at Skenesboro, each trying to outstrip the other in preparing a fleet which would command its waters. It was hard business building a navy on inland waters from green timber freshly cut in the forest and dragged by hand to the lake side, with no ship stores except such as could be brought from long distances over almost impassable roads. The ship carpenters of New England were busy at the ports ; naval construction without skilled help was no easy task. In this respect the British had an advantage. Six armed vessels were sent from England, brought by water to the Falls of Chambly, and those which were too large to be hauled over the rapids were taken apart and put together again above. The smaller ones were dragged up entire.

Arnold took command of the homemade American flotilla, sailed boldly down the lake toward Isle la Motte to meet the foe in October, and having met him sailed back again as fast as possible in the darkness of night, thoroughly convinced of the hopelessness of fighting a force of twice his strength. He sailed directly through the enemy's lines, in the darkness and fog, without being discovered, and the next morning was entirely out of

sight of the British. They set out in full chase and, the wind being favorable, overtook the American fleet about noon on October 13, a few leagues from Crown Point. Finding escape as impossible as victory, with the British at his heels, Arnold ran his fleet aground at the mouth of the Otter Creek and burned the ships to the water's edge.

Delayed by the south winds, the British tardily took Crown Point, to find it only a dismantled fortress from which the Americans had moved, bag and baggage. The British commander, Carleton, then threatened Ticonderoga. But the south wind which had so long held him back had proved a daily blessing to the fortress. The works were strengthened, and day by day reënforcements came trooping through the forest to its defense. Two regiments were temporarily furnished by the New Hampshire Grants. After a month of reconnoitering and contemplation Carleton reëmbarked his army at Crown Point and sailed back to Canada.

We can sum up the whole campaign thus far by saying that in 1775 the Americans drove the British from the lake, took Montreal, and invaded Canada as far as Quebec; while in 1776 the British drove the Americans out of Canada and as far back on the lake as Ticonderoga.

THE BATTLES OF HUBBARDTON AND BENNINGTON

In 1777 the British began a plan of campaign one part of which was to consist of gaining and occupying the two valleys of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. By doing this they would hold an unbroken military line

from Canada to New York harbor and cut off the New England colonies from the rest of the country.

This particular feature of the plan was not one which the settlers of Vermont could anticipate with any pleasure. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness might be seriously interfered with along the western border. The settlers of Vermont began to feel a greater common



THE SAN CROIRE MILL (LONG SINCE BURNED) AND THE BRIDGE
OVER WHICH HESSIANS MARCHED TO THE
BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

interest with the American colonies. Their homes were again at stake. They had come from Connecticut, from Massachusetts, from Rhode Island to the grants, and had left behind them ties of blood and friendship. They possessed the same hardy traits as their kinsmen, for they were bred in the same conditions. They knew what it meant to have their independence threatened. They were essentially part and parcel of the American colonies in this cause.

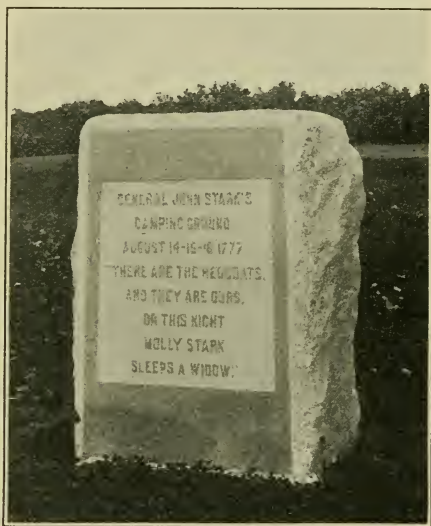
The command of that section of the British army which was to move south from Canada was given to General Burgoyne. He met with only slight opposition on Lake Champlain and took Ticonderoga without a blow. He secured there one hundred and twenty-eight pieces of cannon, besides shipping and bateaux, provisions and military stores. It is said that over seventeen hundred barrels of flour and seventy tons of salt provisions fell into the hands of the British, besides a large drove of cattle. It looked as though Burgoyne was equipped for a triumphant march through the woods to the Hudson River and so on to New York.

But on the portage from Lake George to the Hudson River luck began to turn. General Schuyler, unable to meet him on equal terms in open fighting, used every resource possible to retard his progress. He cut trees of the forest across his path; he filled up the creeks; he broke down the bridges; he put every conceivable obstacle in his way. It took Burgoyne fifty days to march his army seventy-five miles. The delay gave New England militiamen time to gather along the line of advance.

Meantime the Americans had met with a disastrous defeat at Hubbardton. As soon as the British had discovered the retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga they started after them in eager pursuit. St. Clair's plan had been to send the provisions and stores by galleys to Skenesboro, and to march the army thither by land through Hubbardton and Castleton. All might have gone well had not a French officer, on abandoning his house, imprudently set fire to it. The result was

doubly disastrous. The light of the flames revealed to the British the operations of the American forces, and the knowledge that they were discovered threw the latter into confusion.

However, the rear guard were brought off in good order about four o'clock of the morning of July 6. The troops on arriving at Hubbardton halted for a time. Seth Warner was put in command of the rear guard and the stragglers who kept coming in. St. Clair went on to Castleton. At about seven o'clock the next morning the pursuing British detachments, who had slept on their arms a few miles away that night,



MONUMENT MARKING STARK'S CAMPING
GROUND

attacked the American rear and defeated it after a sharp fight, completely routing the entire force with severe loss. The galleys on the lake were also overtaken by British frigates and gunboats near Skenesboro, now Whitehall. On the approach of the frigates the Americans abandoned the galleys and succeeded in blowing up three of them. The remaining two fell into the enemy's hands.

L. of C.

Notwithstanding these successes, the troubles which fell upon Burgoyne were stripping his army of its efficiency. The provisions taken at Ticonderoga went rapidly during his slow progress. Transportation was



JOHN STARK¹

poor; fresh supplies were not abundant. From the latter part of July to the middle of August his army was busy bringing forward supplies and bateaux from Lake George. But his utmost diligence was insufficient to meet his needs. It became evident that if he was to carry his campaign through with success he must draw on the supplies of the enemy to replenish his own stores. The resources

in his immediate vicinity were soon exhausted. Reports came to him that at Bennington, guarded only by the militia, lay a large quantity of provisions gathered for the use of the American army. He determined to secure those stores for the British army.

¹ This portrait of Major General John Stark was made, on the order of the legislature of New Hampshire, by U. D. Tenney, from an original sketch by Miss Hannah Crowninshield in 1810, Stark then being eighty-two years of age.

To execute this move he placed a select body of German troops, some Canadians, and about a hundred Indians under the command of Colonel Baum. To facilitate operations further he ordered another detachment to post itself



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

on the east bank of the Hudson, opposite Saratoga; while still another he sent under Breyman to station itself at Battenkill, within supporting distance of the main body under Baum. Meantime farmers with flintlock and

powderhorn were flocking to Bennington from all sides. Seth Warner rallied them from the Vermont towns, while New Hampshire responded to the call with a splendid brigade under a splendid leader, none other than John Stark.

Since we left this man cutting the road from Number Four to Crown Point he had seen much service. Second to none as a leader of rangers in the last French and Indian war, and having served at Bunker Hill, he was a man whom the farmer militia of New Hampshire might well delight to follow. He joined personal bravery to generalship of the highest order, as his preparations for the encounter at Bennington testify; for a better piece of military work it would be hard to find in the Revolution. Beginning with a scattered militia, with almost no supplies, — think of an army with one pair of bullet molds, with powder half spoiled, and destitute even of camp kettles! — with a range of mountains and a stretch of wilderness to cross by wretched roads, he appeared at Manchester in an almost incredibly short time, with the forces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire organized and well in hand. Companies of Vermont rangers joined him, and accompanied by Warner he moved on toward Bennington.

As to tactics Stark had no choice. With no cavalry, no artillery, no commissariat, no transportation, no provisions to keep an army in idleness, he was simply forced to attack. It made no difference that half the troops were without bayonets; he had men and his men had implicit confidence in him. Already he had shown a celerity and precision of movement with an irregular force in the face of tremendous difficulties. This was a premonition of

success; and it was about the only one that could be found in the situation as the two armies lay fronting each other on the eve of battle.

The story of the fight itself may be briefly told. When Baum found that he was to be opposed he halted in a



David Robinson Samuel Fay
Benjamin Harwood¹ Abisha Kingsley Aaron Robinson Samuel Safford¹

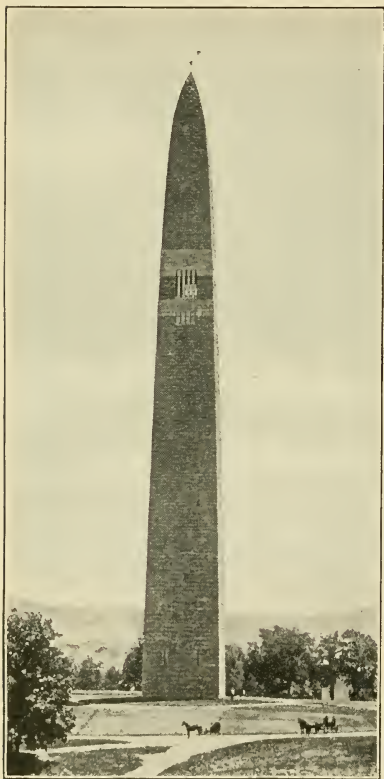
THE LAST SURVIVING VETERANS OF THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

(From a daguerreotype taken in 1848)

favorable position in Hoosac, New York, near the present state line, sent back to Breyman for reënforcements, and began to intrench. A rain on the 15th of August

¹ Benjamin Harwood was the first male child born in Bennington. Captain Samuel Safford was the first man to scale the Tory breastworks at the battle of Bennington.

prevented immediate attack and gave the British a chance still further to strengthen their trenches. On the morning of the 16th Stark sent two hundred men to attack



BENNINGTON MONUMENT

the rear of the enemy, three hundred to attack the rear of the enemy's right, two hundred to attack the extreme right, while he and Warner led the direct assault. The fighting began about three o'clock in the afternoon; it lasted two hours. Stark said: "It was the hottest I ever saw." The enemy were all killed or taken prisoners.

Hardly had the prisoners been collected and sent back to the Bennington meetinghouse under guard, when Breyman's reënforcements came up and a second

battle began. Most opportunely, Warner's regiment arrived from Manchester and engaged them. At sundown the British gave way and were pursued till dark.

A thousand stand of arms and six hundred prisoners were left in possession of the Americans.

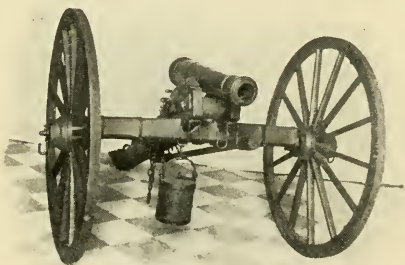
In point of military importance this battle ranks far higher than the dramatic capture of Ticonderoga. It was an actual engagement which tested both generalship and fighting capacity to the utmost. It was a force of farmers fighting a force of regulars. It preserved for the Americans the supplies which were the great object of the expedition. It protected the territory eastward from military operations and from any further danger of invasion. It depleted Burgoyne's forces. It was the first of a series of disasters which led to his surrender, the turning point of the war, and the recognition of American independence. Burgoyne's own opinion, expressed shortly after the battle in a letter to Lord George Germaine, was as follows: "The chief subject of regret on our side, after that which any loss of gallant men naturally occasions, is the disappointment of not obtaining live cattle, and the loss of time in bringing forward the magazines."

On the American side it was strictly a people's fight, not directed by the government, not provided for by the government, not fought by a regular force, not commanded by a regular officer. While the news of the splendid victory was on the way to Congress, that body was publicly censuring the man who won it, and condemning the course of the New Hampshire Assembly in allowing Stark the separate command which made the victory possible. It is to the credit of Congress that when the result of the battle was known it passed a vote of thanks for Stark's services and promoted him

to the rank of brigadier general in the regular army. Something over one hundred years later the corner stone was laid of that monument at Bennington which pays a fitting tribute to the scene and deed. In the portico of the State House at Montpelier one may see the two brass cannon which were taken on that day from the Hessians.

SOME RESULTS OF THE WAR

With the surrender of Burgoyne on the 17th of October war in the immediate vicinity of this state



ONE OF THE CANNON TAKEN AT THE
BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

ceased, the danger of invasion came to an end, and the yeomen were able to return to their homes. Forts were temporarily occupied at Peacham, Corinth, Bethel, and Barnard. A fort was maintained at Newbury dur-

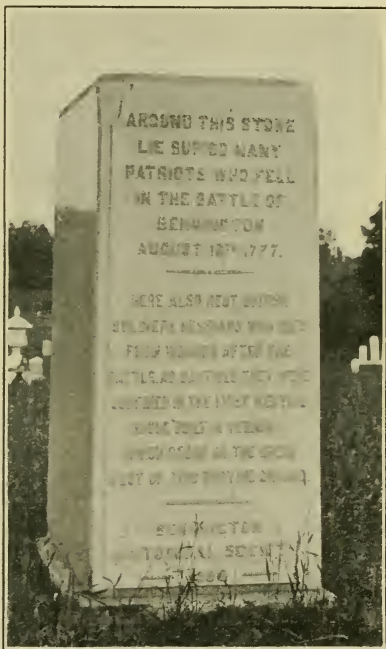
ing the war, and the cutting of the military road from Newbury to Hazen's Notch was accomplished.

The war brought great hardship, uncertainty, and danger to the people of the state. In some sections it pretty effectually broke up the western settlements. At the time of Burgoyne's invasion settlements had been made in nearly every town in what are now Bennington and Rutland counties and in some towns north of the

latter. The beginning of his invasion produced great excitement, and this increased with every advancing step of the army. As he passed through the lake the settlers along the shore withdrew toward the south, and by the time he was on the Hudson River there were few farms north of the present county of Bennington which were occupied by their owners.

The British had a notion that as soon as their army had occupied the country the inhabitants of this state would flock to the royal standard. Burgoyne attempted to hasten this much desired end by issuing a proclamation which breathed out threatenings and slaughter

against those who clung to the American cause but promised protection to those who should join him or remain quietly at home. But the Green Mountain Boys flocked to other standards than his, and by the time he wrote from his camp near Saratoga to Lord Germaine, Burgoyne himself was fully aware of the temper of the people.



MEMORIAL MONUMENT

During the period of Burgoyne's visitation companies of armed men scoured the country searching for recruits and provisions. Indian scouting parties not infrequently put in an unwelcome appearance in the neighborhood of frontier towns. Although they rarely molested the inhabitants, their presence was a menace totally destructive to peace of mind. The British control of Lake Champlain placed the western borders at the mercy of their Indian allies if they chose to reap the harvest.

A few instances will illustrate the prevailing conditions. Weybridge was settled in 1775, in almost unbroken forest, by settlers who came up the creek in boats and located on the banks. The little settlement was visited in 1778 by Indians and Tories, the property destroyed, and the people taken as prisoners to Quebec. Occasionally on similar raids the women and children were left behind in a condition worse than captivity; for they had no protection from the wild beasts, no shelter save the cellar of some ruined home, and perhaps no food.

The severest blow which fell on any settlement during the war was the raid on Royalton in 1780. It was originally designed for the purpose of capturing Lieutenant Whitcomb at Newbury, who was said to have wantonly shot and robbed a British officer in 1776. The party consisted of about three hundred men, mostly Indians. On their way up the Winooski River—the old “French road”—they fell in with a party of hunters from Newbury, who told them that the town was anticipating the attack and was in a state of defense. The story saved Newbury but brought disaster to

Royalton, for thither the party now turned. The place was laid in ashes, a few men were killed and most of the remainder taken prisoners. They were well treated on their way to Canada and were liberated in the following summer.

After this raid alarm was so universal throughout the state that the shouts of a surveying party or the burning of a pile of brush in a back pasture was enough to spread terror through the countryside. At Berkshire, even after Burgoyne's defeat, it was deemed best to remove the women and children to Connecticut to avoid the danger from strolling bands of Indians. Such a trip was actually made, under the escort of a few soldiers, the party going through the wilderness by blazed trees, camping in the woods at night, running constant dangers from wild beasts and Indians, and enduring perils as great as those from which they fled.

When the enemy were in any neighborhood every device was resorted to for the concealment and preservation of property. Cattle were driven back to the mountains; the family barrels of pork and beef were hidden in the earth. The settlers plundered the houses of suspected Tories as mercilessly as they anticipated that their own might be plundered by the British. To be known as a sympathizer with the crown or an allicant to the British cause was to be stripped of everything, even to the very clotheslines.

When hostilities ceased in the immediate vicinity the state waxed in wealth and population, even during the remainder of the war. The reasons for this we shall presently learn. Summing up the situation, it may be

said that Vermont gained more from the Revolution than she lost. Perhaps no state gained more at lower cost. She came out of the war with far more than she carried into it. Between the time of Burgoyne's coming and the battle of Bennington her people had formed a state. The New Hampshire Grants ceased to be, and Vermont began. The telling of that story needs a chapter by itself. After reading it you will probably say that Vermont politics at least did not suffer much by reason of the Revolution.

CHAPTER VI

THE GODS OF THE HILLS

WESTMINSTER COURT HOUSE,
January 15, 1777.

This convention, whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents in the several towns, on the New Hampshire Grants, in meeting assembled, in our own names, and in behalf of our constituents, do hereby proclaim and publicly declare, that the district of territory comprehending and usually known by the name and description of the New Hampshire Grants, of right ought to be and is hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a free and independent jurisdiction or state. — *Extract from Vermont's declaration of independence.*

HOW VERMONT WAS MADE; THE CONVENTIONS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS

The above extract may be called Vermont's declaration of independence. This and a revised form prepared for the press are a comprehensive and authoritative expression of what had come to be a matter of fact and was demonstrated so to be in fourteen years of independent statehood which followed. It is in view of this that we may say that Vermont got more out of the Revolution than she put into it. So far as her share in it was concerned it was a valuable investment. It bore lighter upon her than upon any colony; it swelled her population; it gave her military honor; it developed her statesmen; it gave her people a common interest and unified their sentiments; it strengthened her for her contest with

New York; and it made it possible for her to become in name and deed what she claimed to be, an independent republic.

The incidence of the Revolution, following as it did the already sharply defined contest with New York, gave a magnificent opportunity to the people of the New Hampshire Grants to develop their incipient machinery of self-government into the form of a commonwealth. Local self-government they had possessed from their earliest days of settlement. We have also seen coöperative efforts made on the part of several towns to resist the execution of repugnant measures of New York authorities. Conventions of committees were finally held to assume the management of affairs in this especial emergency. But such needs were unusual and irregular for a state, not permanent and not in line with the normal development of civic problems.

There would come a time, if the grants were ever to reach the dignity of statehood, when the demand would be for a civic machinery of permanent and high order. These emergency needs, this emergency government, would pass away when the particular necessity for its creation had passed. The needs of a state are enduring, ever growing, and arise from an expanding life within as well as from pressure of forces exerted from without. It was the development of her inner life that wrought in Vermont both the need and the capacity for statehood. The need was constitutional.

To approach the subject in its simplest form let us follow the historical steps in the growth of this constitutional need. If you turn back to the section entitled

“Beginnings of Statecraft,” you will recall the simple government that existed before the Revolution, and the remark that the war brought a necessity for some body of a higher grade than existed before to represent the grants as a whole. That need developed the conventions which we are about to consider.

These conventions were composed of representatives or delegates sent by the different towns. The first one was called by circular letter and was held at Dorset in July, 1775. Its principal work was to choose field officers and others to take charge of the military activities brought on by the war. This was a necessity almost wholly due to the colonial revolutionary movement.

But the second convention revealed something different. It also was held at Dorset, in January, 1776. It provided certain measures designed to regulate the internal affairs of the state, such as the suppression of mobs and turbulence and the maintenance of order and peace. Here is something that is not purely a necessity produced by the Revolution; it is such an internal need as any state must provide for to-day. We have, therefore, in the work of this convention the beginning of a civil establishment for the grants, a new order of things. It illustrates the relation between the administrative needs of a state and its expanding inner life. It is an example of what gives rise to statecraft.

The work of the third convention, which was held at Dorset in July of the same year, reflects the increasing requirements which are being placed on the grants. There is more business to be done, and business of a constitutional nature. The question of joining in

association with New Hampshire comes up, also the question of the observance of New York laws within the grants ; while the relation of the grants as a whole to the national government appears in the appointment of agents who are to be sent to Congress. Observe that these different items of business are due partly to the war and partly to the civic needs of the state.

In the fourth convention, held at Dorset in September, 1776, the same combination of local and national business is repeated. The exigencies of war are made a reason for crowding the demands of the grants for a separate government. The convention passed a compact or covenant to stand by the cause of American liberty, and appointed a board of war with regulations regarding the militia. But it also voted not to accept New York laws and stated the project for forming the New Hampshire Grants into a separate district. Statehood is clearly projected, and the capacity of the grants to administer their internal police is stated in a manner which involves state legislation, for if New York laws are not to be observed the necessity of making laws for themselves becomes apparent.

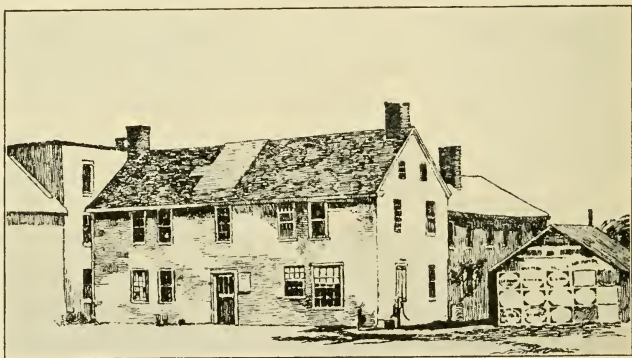
This was the last convention held at Dorset ; but the fifth convention, held at Westminster in October of the same year, carried on the work by providing for the publication of pamphlets on the subject of forming a separate state and of not uniting with New York. If it had not been for the Revolution, such proceedings would have involved the grants in an immediate crisis with New York. The truth of our proposition that the Revolution made possible the statehood of Vermont is beginning to appear.

If we now take a survey of the events covered in the five preceding paragraphs, we find that a great deal has happened. Beginning with a group of towns which had no bond of union except sentiment and a similar necessity, and with no central or constitutional authority to represent them, we find developed in little more than the space of one year a central body competent to provide for all the needs of a state as fully as any American commonwealth then in existence, with agencies through which it could communicate with the Congress, regulate its internal police, organize and develop the machinery of further government, and secure a satisfactory referendum to justify its procedure. The four conventions of the year 1776 show that Vermont was making as rapid strides toward independence as any civic body in America.

At Westminster on the 15th of January, 1777, was held the sixth in this series of conventions and the one that promulgated the declaration of independence for the state. The action of this convention, if read alone, would seem to be of the highest importance; read in the light of the work which the four preceding conventions had accomplished, it appears to be only the natural and fitting culmination of what had transpired in the previous year. It was reported that three fourths of the inhabitants of the grants favored the formation of a separate state. The declaration of independence was reported to the convention at an adjourned session two days later, was then adopted, and sent with a petition to Congress.

This step was the culmination of the work of the New Hampshire Grants. It is equally important to

note that it was also the beginning of the work of the state of Vermont. The burden assumed by this declaration meant exactly the same for the state of Vermont as that involved in the federal Declaration of Independence meant for the United States. We are accustomed to think of them as achievements; they are only declarations. They are not fulfillments, but only beginnings. We call them declarations of independence; they are full of self-imposed restrictions, limitations, and obligations.



THE OLD CONSTITUTION HOUSE AT WINDSOR

It is unfortunate that we have no full report of the seventh convention, which was held at Windsor June 4, 1777. The name of the state, which in the first declaration had been New Connecticut, was changed to Vermont. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution for the new state; a fast was proclaimed; and exclusive jurisdiction was assumed by the state of Vermont.

The eighth convention, like the seventh, left no official record, and there is probably no full account of its

proceedings. It was held in troublous times. Its work, however, was of prime importance, for it was this eighth convention, held in the old "constitution house" at Windsor, that established the constitution and frame of government for our state. The convention met July 2, 1777, and while in session received news of the advance of Burgoyne. Half the members had come directly from their regiments. The families of the president and other members were in impending danger. Imme-



MORE RECENT VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION HOUSE

diately adjournment was made impossible by the sudden coming of a July thunder storm of unusual severity. While the convention waited in the darkened hall for the storm to cease, it passed, article by article, the constitution of our state.

Not only was the independence of Vermont made possible by the American Revolution, but it was also made imperative by the American Declaration of Independence. A broad view of the whole situation

will show the truth of this proposition. When the American colonies declared themselves independent of Great Britain, the dispute between New York and the New Hampshire Grants was pending decision by the only authority which both disputants would recognize as their arbiter. The colonies were subjects of Great Britain. The king of England was their fountain of justice. The Declaration of American Independence absolved the colonies from all allegiance to Great Britain, and her fountain of justice was for them no more.

What then remained to be done? There was no longer any earthly power whose claims as a superior both disputants would admit. The settlers on the grants had been removed from the jurisdiction of New Hampshire by the king's Order in Council of 1764. They had never from that day submitted to the actual exercise of New York's sovereignty. New York was not their sovereign. The king of England was their sovereign. Now that his arbitrament was thrown aside — for even if Vermont would admit it New York would not — there was nothing for the New Hampshire Grants to do but maintain their own independence.

That meant no longer independence of New York alone, but of the world. Organization became unavoidable for the emergencies of war and domestic government; and organization once begun the declaration of purpose was pertinent. It was also timely, for the same sentiments were evoked and the same model followed as those which had inspired the united colonies. These colonies could hardly fail to recognize the example which they had set. Nothing could have placed Vermont

in a more commanding position than this simple, strong announcement of her purpose. The logic of events was on her side. The appeal was powerful and in touch with the times, for not a state except New York could utter a protest.

NOTE. — In the history of our state the work of these conventions should never be forgotten. They were extremely simple bodies — one house, a supreme legislative and executive power, elected by the people, responsible to the people. These bodies assumed the jurisdiction of the grants, furnished them with a government, declared them to be a free and independent state, and gave that state its constitution. It is worthy of note that the constitution was modeled after that of Pennsylvania, which in turn goes back to William Penn's frame of government of 1682.

CHAPTER VII

AN INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC

BENNINGTON, July 25, 1780.

Sir: Vermont, being a free and independent state, have denied the authority of Congress to judge of their jurisdiction, . . . for it is utterly incompatible with the rights and prerogatives of an independent state to be under the control or arbitrament of any other power. . . . The cloud that has hovered over Vermont, since the ungenerous claims of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay, has been seen, and its motions carefully observed by this government; who expected that Congress would have averted the storm: but disappointed in this, and unjustly treated as the people, over whom I preside, conceive themselves to be in this affair, yet blessed by Heaven, with a constancy of mind, and connexions abroad, as an honest, valient and brave people, are necessitated to declare to your Excellency, to Congress, and to the world, that, as life, liberty and the rights of the people, intrusted to them by God, are inseparable, so they do not expect to be justified in the eye of Heaven, or that posterity would call them blessed, if they should, tamely, surrender any part. — *Governor Chittenden to the President of Congress.*

INTERNAL CONDITIONS

The full story of fourteen years' independent government is needed in order really to understand what Vermont was at the time of her admission into the Union. On the one hand, on the industrial side there was the multiplication of new homes which in their beginnings were very much like the homes of earlier days and of which we shall learn more presently. On the other hand there was a continued development of statecraft, which in this period revealed a capacity for

diplomacy as striking in its way as the more constructive work which we have just been considering.

The process of home-making went on, taking a northward direction, until at length it penetrated nearly all sections of the state. Meantime the older settlements became more thrifty in appearance, established new industries, and prospered. Men grown well-to-do in the older communities repeated their successes in the newer, entering them now as small capitalists, building the mills and assisting in the work of more rapid settlement than that of earlier days. The arms of commerce began to reach up into the little republic of the hills. While this went on, there is that other



VERMONT FLAG

story, the story of a long and persistent attempt to gain for the state admission to the Union. This attempt was long frustrated by New York, who still insisted on her claim to the grants.

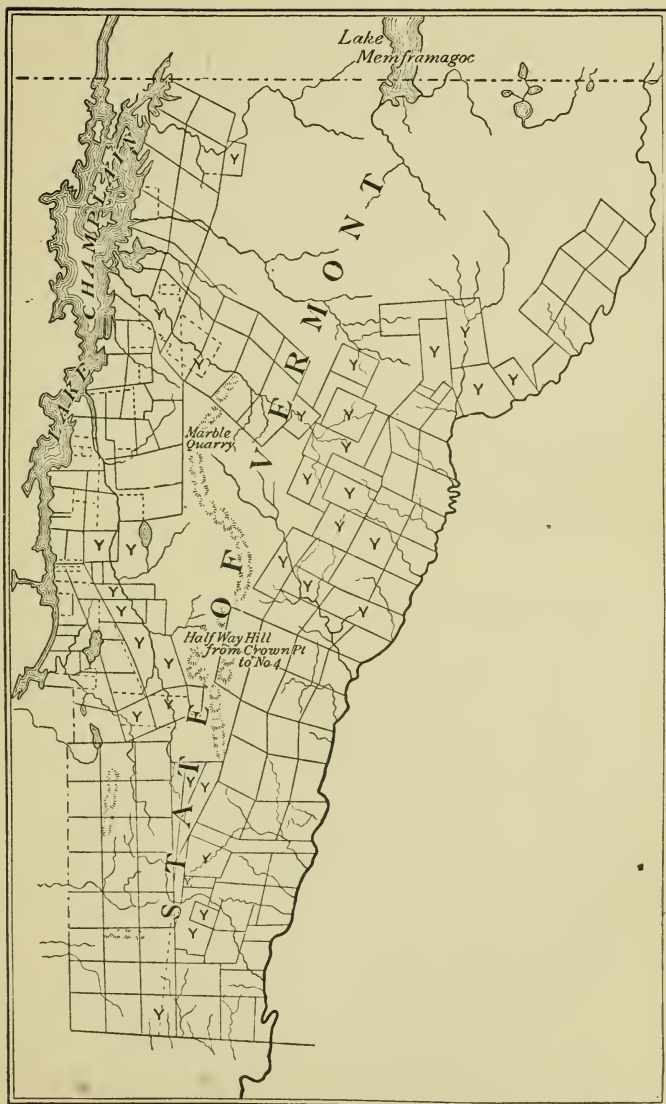
It is a point worth remembering that, in spite of the dangers and uncertainties of settling in the state during the Revolution, Vermont was by comparison not the worst place in which to live. There were greater dangers and uncertainties elsewhere. She was free from

many of the burdens which the colonies had taken upon themselves in this great war. Her support to the war was purely voluntary; her taxes were light; she never had hung about her neck the financial millstone of irredeemable paper money; her lands were cheap and inducements were strong to incoming settlers.

It was a point of self-interest for Vermont to promote as rapid a settlement as possible in this period. The more settlers she obtained, the stronger she would be to maintain a position that while unique among the commonwealths of America was at the same time somewhat precarious. As the armies of Washington melted away by desertion, not a few of the self-retired veterans found their search for quiet homes leading them into the woods of Vermont. The families established here thrived prodigiously, and there were few drones. Men, muscle, and courage were all that were needed to transform the wooded state into a thrifty commonwealth of husbandmen and freeholders. The transformation went on during the years of the Revolution and those which followed. In this way, too, Vermont was getting more out of the war than she put into it.

In 1771 a rough census showed that about seven thousand people inhabited the state. Forty-six hundred were east of the mountains and twenty-five hundred west. Ten years later the population was thirty thousand. In 1791 it was, in round numbers, eighty-five thousand. It is probable that at least ten thousand people came into the state during the war.

After her declaration of independence the state assumed the proprietorship of lands. In 1779 the



VERMONT AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION

legislature formulated plans for the making of grants. They were not unlike the plan of Benning Wentworth. Townships were to be six miles square, with seventy rights or lots in each. Five of these were for public uses, — one for the support of a college, one for a county grammar school, one for an English school, one for the support of preaching, and one for the first settled minister. To settlers the prices of lots were made low, — what would be equivalent to from seven to ten cents an acre for the three hundred and thirty acres or thereabouts in a lot.

These inducements, the vigor of state administration, the assurance of protection for private rights, the light burdens of taxation, the economy in state management, — the revenues from the sale of lands were nearly enough to pay expenses, — all tended to attract settlers and build up the state.

And yet conditions were far from peaceful and orderly. There were many conflicting interests, and the inhabitants were by no means all of one mind. We must remember that in all the states during and after the Revolution conditions were very disorderly. Social and political and economic disturbances, due in large part to the war itself, wrought havoc with the normal order of development and made turbulence and lawlessness rampant. In Vermont there were a few causes of disturbance which did not exist elsewhere. Those settlers who still held land under New York grants remained in favor of New York jurisdiction, and they consequently opposed the independence of Vermont.

Such men, especially in the southeastern part of the state, in the vicinity of Guilford and Brattleboro,

took occasion to resist the authority of Vermont. The governor of New York encouraged them, and they organized in opposition to the state and proposed to resist by force the collection of taxes and drafting of men for military service. In Guilford and some other towns the differences were so intense that each party had a town organization of its own, with its own set of officers. There were thus two civil organizations in such towns, one rendering allegiance to New York, the other to Vermont. Excitement rose to such a pitch that there were skirmishes between the two factions, and social order came to an end. Relatives and neighbors were arrayed against each other, and even physicians could not visit the sick without passes and permits from various committees. Finally Ethan Allen was directed to call out the militia to enforce laws and suppress disturbances in Windham County, which he set about to do with his characteristic vigor.

Notwithstanding his energetic measures, disturbances became so serious that in the winter of 1783-1784 radical measures had to be taken against the New York element. Before the close of that year the "Yorkers" found most of their property confiscated and themselves so harshly handled by civil and military authorities that they went in large numbers to New York. The minority that remained took oath of allegiance to this state. The years following saw even more serious disturbances across the line in the neighboring state of Massachusetts, disturbances which culminated in Shays's rebellion. Neither the disturbances nor the

conditions in Vermont were exceptionally bad. The times were such as to foster discontent and breed riotous and disorderly conduct, especially among the debtor and more thriftless classes.

In respect to public finances the conditions in Vermont were better than in almost any other state. As has been said before, the state paid her own troops during the war and had no private debt, while she was free from the great burden of public debt which so handicapped the other states, because she had never been a member of the confederation. But many of her inhabitants were extremely poor, not a few involved in personal debt, and hard cash was a rare thing to see. Consequently collection of debts bore with severity on the people, and lawyers and sheriffs were in Vermont as elsewhere an unpopular class.

The prevalent hostility toward them is revealed in a burst of polemic song which appeared in the *Vermont Gazette* Feb. 28, 1784.

Whereas the Assembly of the State
Have dar'd audaciously of late,
With purpose vile, the constitution
To break, or make a wicked use on,
By making laws and raising taxes,
And viler still (so truth of fact is)
By keeping up that smooth tongu'd clan,
For ages curs'd by God and man,
Attornies, whose eternal gabble
Confounds the unexperienced rabble.

.
Then lawyers from the courts expell,
Cancel our debts and all is well —

But should they finally neglect
To take the measures we direct,
Still fond of their own power and wisdom,
We 'll find effectual means to twist 'em.

Some disturbances occurred in what are now Windsor and Rutland counties. But the Assembly did all that could be honorably asked, even by poor debtors. It provided for payment "in kind" when creditors were insistent upon immediate payment of debts. The following act is self-explanatory.

Whereas, through a scarcity of a circulating medium, it is very difficult to satisfy all debts in specie. Therefore, *Be it enacted*, &c that neat cattle, beef, pork, sheep, wheat, rye, and indian corn, shall be a lawful tender, if turned out by the debtor, on any execution.

In such cases the creditor must receive at its value the tender of goods appraised by men under oath. Similar remedial legislation was applied for some years when the stress of collections was really oppressive. This relieved the situation temporarily; in time industry and business brought general prosperity and permanent relief.

GREEN MOUNTAIN DIPLOMACY

In the condition of affairs which has been very briefly and imperfectly described in the foregoing section it became a task requiring no small skill on the part of political leaders to steer such a course in maintaining the independence of Vermont as not to wreck their ship of state on the shoals of national politics or the reefs of domestic woes. While Vermont was pleading for admission to the Union, the action of Congress and the

neighboring states was such as to promote her internal troubles and bring her independence into jeopardy.

After the king's order of 1764 limiting New Hampshire's jurisdiction to the western bank of the Connecticut River that state had made no attempt to interfere with Vermont's affairs until such interference was induced by Vermont herself through a very unfortunate complication. The interest of certain towns lying in New Hampshire just east of the Connecticut River caused them to desire union with Vermont rather than continue longer under the government of New Hampshire. The request came at a time when Vermont politics were in such a state that the Assembly felt compelled to grant it. Consequently these New Hampshire towns were adopted like foster children by the state of Vermont.

No sooner was this done than New Hampshire naturally enough began strenuous protests and brought about still further complications by reviving her old claim to the jurisdiction of the grants. So the matter, when presented to the Continental Congress, took a form which was decidedly unfavorable to Vermont. New Hampshire and New York were again contending for the same territory, and it began to look as though Congress would like to dispose of the case in the easiest way, by dividing the state between the two claimants along the line of the Green Mountain range.

Vermont statesmen then saw the mistake which had been made in attempting to incorporate part of New Hampshire, and sought to retrace their steps. Very evidently policy dictated a separation from the New Hampshire towns. But states and nations as well as

individuals often find that it is not so easy to get out of a bad situation as it is to get into one. So it proved in this case; for when these towns were separated from Vermont along with them went neighboring towns on the Vermont side of the river. Vermont was dismembered. As if this were not trouble enough, Massachusetts presently entered the contest by asserting claims to territory north of the boundary line, which, it must be confessed, was somewhat uncertain. This, then, was the situation in 1779. Four states were claimants of the same territory. Vermont, troubled within and without, but determined to maintain her integrity, was pleading for admission to the Union, while on all sides her neighbors were making the situation worse, and Congress was doing nothing to make it better.

The claim of New Hampshire stimulated New York to stir up further dissension in Vermont and advise her partisans to resist the authority of the state. They accordingly refused to recognize Vermont's authority to draft troops or raise taxes, held a convention at Brattleboro, and formed a military association in Cumberland County. Congress, meantime, only tried to pacify the three litigious members of her own body, without paying much attention to the needs of Vermont.

Such proceedings taught the people that they must work out their own salvation if they were going to be saved. They accordingly stood ready to seize any opportunity to strengthen their position. A chance soon came. The New Hampshire towns which had once been represented in the Assembly of Vermont again desired to renew that relation. A convention of

thirty-five towns which was held at Charlestown, New Hampshire, in 1781, revealed that a majority of them were in favor of a union with Vermont.

About the same time a similar application came from a smaller number of towns across the New York border in



VERMONT COAT OF ARMS

the eastern part of that state. Here was an opportunity for Vermont to increase her strength and resources in two directions. Both applications were favorably considered, and Vermont assumed jurisdictional rights

over the petitioning towns. Their representatives were admitted to seats in her Assembly, and the annexations became known as the East and West unions. This step was bold and unequivocal, but Vermont had become accustomed to burning her bridges behind her. The measure doubled the extent of her jurisdiction, added to her numbers and resources, quieted disaffection at home, and invited further immigration from abroad.

The next step was to secure herself from the dangers of British invasion; for the war was not over, and another British campaign was contemplated in the Champlain Valley. The British came up the lake, and Vermont was defenseless. Congress was devoting its attention and all the supplies it could get out of an unwilling constituency to campaigns in other parts of the country. But the British were still possessed of the notion that had once deceived Burgoyne, — that the people of this state would turn to the crown. In consequence of this they were misled by their hopes in a manner that proved as effective a defense for Vermont as a military equipment would have been.

The peculiar situation of Vermont gave the British some grounds for supposing that her allegiance might be transferred to them. They were familiar with the rebuffs which the state had met in trying to associate herself with the other states, and they conjectured that they might turn her failure to their advantage. The first intimation that came of this desire was in the summer of 1780, when a stranger, apparently a Vermont farmer, met Ethan Allen in the streets of Arlington and handed him a letter. The stranger was not a

Vermont farmer but a British soldier, and the letter was from an officer of the British army in Canada.

The letter invited Allen to give information about the sentiments of the people on the subject of forming a British alliance. Allen took the letter to Governor Chittenden and it was discussed among a few confidential friends. No answer was returned to the British officer, and he, thinking that his first letter might have miscarried, sent another of similar purport in the following February. To this also Allen made no reply, but he sent both letters to Congress, with a characteristic one of his own. He wrote :

I am fully grounded in opinion that Vermont has an indubitable right to agree on Terms of Cessation of Hostilities with Great Britain, providing the United States persist in rejecting her Application for a Union with them : for Vermont, of all people, would be the most miserable, were she obliged to defend the Independence of the United claiming States, and they at the same time at full liberty to overturn and ruin the Independence of Vermont. I am persuaded when Congress considers the circumstances of this State, they will be more surprised that I have transmitted them the enclosed letters than that I have kept them in custody so long, for I am as resolutely determined to defend the Independence of Vermont as Congress are that of the United States, and rather than fail will retire with the hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate Caverns of the Mountains and wage war with Human nature at large.

Congress remained inactive.

When the British came up the lake in the fall of 1780 Governor Chittenden opened communications with them, and with the help of the Allens and a few others, without committing the state to any pledges, so kept the British fed with hopes of an alliance that they

refrained from beginning hostilities. Presently news came of the surrender of Cornwallis. It was then too late to fight. The British embarked, returned to Canada, and the border was again free from the dangers of invasion.

Thus far Congress had manifested little inclination to consider the case of Vermont at all; but presently, in addition to the letters which Ethan Allen had transmitted, came the following one, sent by Franklin across the water.

WHITEHALL (LONDON) Feb. 7, 1781.

The return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance is an event of the utmost importance to the king's affairs; and at this time if the French and Washington really meditate an irruption into Canada, may be considered as opposing an insurmountable bar to the attempt. General Haldimand who has the same instructions with you to draw over these people and give them support, will, I doubt not, push up a body of troops, to act in conjunction with them, to secure all the avenues through their country into Canada: and when the season admits take possession of the upper parts of the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, and cut off communication between Albany and the Mohawk country.

The letter, it seems, was written by Lord George Germaine to Sir Henry Clinton, but had been intercepted by the French and taken to Paris. There Benjamin Franklin was informed of it, secured it, and sent it to Congress. The evidence of this letter unmistakably corroborated the two which Allen had sent to Congress. They showed how important a place Vermont occupied in the British mind, and they elevated the state rather suddenly to a place of corresponding importance in the considerations of Congress. Ira Allen, who gives the fullest account of these Haldimand

negotiations of any one who was in the secret, says that this Germaine letter "had greater influence on the wisdom and virtue of Congress than all the exertions of Vermont in taking Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the two divisions from General Burgoyne's army, or their petition to be admitted as a state in the general confederation, and offers to pay their proportion of the expenses of the war."

Certain it is that the tone of Congress changed after the receipt of the Germaine letter. The problem of what could be done in case Vermont responded favorably to the offers of the British began to be seriously considered. Washington wrote from Newburg Feb. 11, 1783, as follows :

It is not a trifling force that will subdue them, even supposing they derived no aid from the enemy in Canada. . . . The country is very mountainous, full of defiles and exceedingly strong. The inhabitants for the most part are a hardy race, composed of that kind of people who are best calculated for soldiers ; in truth who are soldiers, for many, many hundreds of them are deserters from this army ; who having acquired property there would be desperate in defense of it, well knowing that they were fighting with halts about their necks.¹

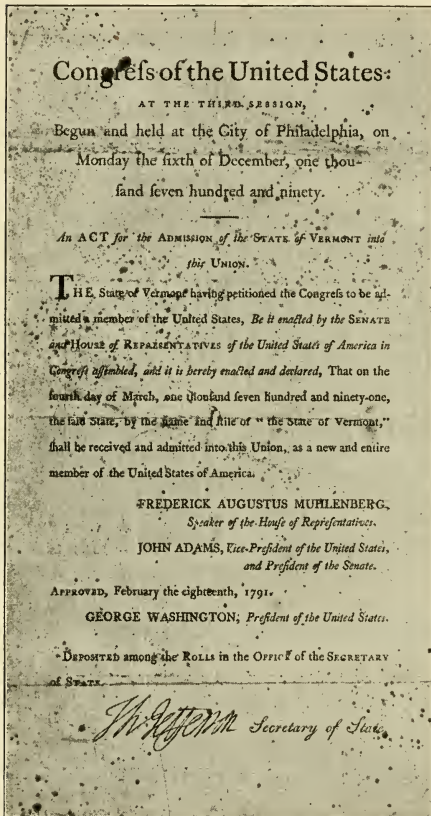
Congress at length conceded for the first time the possibility of admitting Vermont, although it did so indirectly by stating that if such a step were taken it would be necessary for the state to relinquish the East and West unions. General Washington sent a verbal message to Governor Chittenden asking what the real

¹ It should be noted in passing that although Vermont was a very desirable refuge for deserters who did not wish to go to Canada, Vermont authorities assisted in making arrests when their aid was invoked.

feeling of the people was, and later advised the governor that the state would better be reduced to its former

limits for the sake of ending the trouble. Encouraged to think that if this were done Vermont would be promptly admitted, the Assembly complied with the suggestion; on Feb. 22, 1782, Vermont was for the last time reduced to its present territorial form.

The action of Vermont was not followed by the anticipated admission to the Union. Matters still dragged on. The war ended, but the effects of the



FACSIMILE OF ACT OF ADMISSION

war began to appear. For Vermont the situation became less critical; for the United States it did not. The condition of Congress and the confederation was disreputable.

The United States had no money, no revenue, no credit. The armies were unpaid, and the government was sinking into disgrace. Vermont grew less anxious for admission. Then came that wonderful reorganization and recovery under the constitution of 1789, with the splendid work of Hamilton and the administrations of Washington. Within two years of its reincarnation Congress unanimously voted that on the fourth day of the following March "the said State, by the name and style of the State of Vermont, shall be received into this Union as a new and entire member of the United States."

Conflicting interests were settled with comparative ease. This state paid to New York thirty thousand dollars in full settlement of all claims, and the money was used to reimburse those persons who had been dispossessed of lands held under New York grants.¹ Many of the prominent men of the earlier struggle had died, and the new generation felt less bitterness over the ancient quarrel. Many of the Bennington disputants had also passed away. Three of the Allen family were dead, Ethan among the number, he having died at Burlington in 1789, of apoplexy.

The best men in New York were also becoming convinced that nothing was to be gained by prolonging the struggle. In fact the contest was hindering the welfare of the state. Alexander Hamilton urged the settlement of it, and showed that New York with its burden of Revolutionary debt could not afford to carry on an

¹ The division of this money by New York among the claimants may be found in B. H. Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*, Appendix L; also in *Documentary History of New York*, IV, 1024. The amounts range from \$5.49 to \$7218.94.

offensive war with Vermont; a war would require an army and a treasury. This was the alternative: to settle or to fight. Vermont showed her appreciation of an amicable settlement by making grants of land to some of the prominent men of the sister state. John Jay was endowed with land in the town which still bears his name. With the admission of the state all the animosity of years was laid aside, and the neighboring commonwealths assumed their new relations with harmony and good will.

THE RULING MOTIVE

It requires a somewhat broader view than that given in the history of this contest as it has been outlined above really to explain the attitudes which the various parties to the controversy took at different times. It will be worth while to get this broader view, because it is what makes events comprehensible. Frequently movements in history — political movements, for example — require an explanation which does not appear on the surface or in the mere narration of facts.

If we look into the events of the Revolution during these years, we shall see that the Continental Congress had more trouble of its own than it knew what to do with, without taking up the battle for Vermont. Without going into these events we can readily see that Congress could not afford to risk a quarrel between three of her important states, and perhaps others, for the mere sake of preserving the integrity of an outsider. The integrity of the outsider was not absolutely essential to the success of the American cause, but the integrity of

the Union was. The successful culmination of the war was far more important to Congress than the acquisition of another member to a body of wrangling states. This interprets the dilatory and vacillating course of Congress on the question of admitting Vermont to the Union.

Upon Vermont, therefore, was thrown the necessity of maintaining her own independence against a manifest disposition of Congress to sacrifice her, as well as against the more aggressive acts of her immediate neighbors. This explains her granting of lands, her annexations of the East and West unions, and the somewhat shady diplomacy of the Haldimand negotiations. Vermont could not fail to see that, after all her efforts to aid the common cause, she was likely to get less from its success than she would from its failure; for Great Britain, the very power she was helping to fight, offered her what Congress did not. At any rate, appearances indicated that she would be forbidden as a state to participate in the results of that freedom which she was helping the others to secure. If such was the case, then every further step taken in support of the Revolution was suicidal for her. Could it be expected that Vermont would aid in defeating a foreign foe if by so doing she would put her neck under the yoke of a more hateful tyranny at home? As a matter of policy, dictated by the instincts of self-preservation, the state could lend a listening ear to the proposals of British agents to detach Vermont from the American cause and make her a free British province.

The disclosure of the British design, especially the Germaine letter, opened the mind of Congress to the

possible magnitude and significance of Vermont's foreign relations, and brought once more into the sphere of national politics the question of admitting her to the Union. Congress was at length ready to admit that Vermont had gained a place of sufficient importance as a political entity to give her in all justice the right to be recognized. At the same time circumstances already noted made it impossible for Congress to grant immediate admission. This explains the attitude of Congress after 1781, — why she was ready to concede Vermont's independent statehood but did not admit her for ten years more.

While the close of the war and the removal of British troops ended alike the danger of invasion and the negotiations with the British, these events did not leave the United States in a condition which rendered admission altogether desirable for the state. Vermont had then secured freedom from invasion, protection of life and property, the establishment of order, financial integrity, a vigorous and economical administration, an increasing population. Under the circumstances it was no gain to be admitted to membership in a government whose burdens were greater and whose guaranties of such essential advantages were less than her own. This explains why Vermont became less anxious to push her claims for admission.

When, however, the federal situation reached a pitch of disintegration which necessitated reorganization, and the constitution of 1789 was "crammed down the gullet of America," or, in the more refined language of John Quincy Adams, "extorted from the grinding necessity of

a reluctant nation," the general situation began straightway to improve. The financial integrity of the United States was no longer a matter for speculation. National politics now began to turn on internal interests instead of foreign domination, and it became evident that in the new national politics the interests of Vermont were identical with those of New England and the northern states, New York included. These common interests would be strengthened by the admission of the state. This explains why the motives for admission grew stronger while the obstacles grew less.

So we find in this period of her independent statehood a curious and entertaining interplay of local and federal politics, which on the whole was not detrimental to Vermont's interests, and which also reveals the relation between separate states and the central government in what is essentially its true and permanent form.

One cannot close the study of this period of Vermont's history without an increased admiration of the remarkable powers of her first governor. One of our historians, himself a governor, has not overstated his capacity in the following estimate: "The formation of the territory of Vermont into a separate state, the successful progress of its government, and its final establishment against the powerful opposition of other governments were owing in a great degree to the almost unerring foresight, unhesitating firmness and sound judgment of Thomas Chittenden."

CHAPTER VIII

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE WAR OF 1812

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLED PORTIONS OF THE STATE

A. Industrial Conditions

We must take a glance at the life of the people between the close of the Revolution and the War of 1812, so as to fix in our minds some of the ways in which that life differed from our own. While in a sense it may be true that Vermont remained industrially in about the same condition as during the war down to the political disturbances which heralded the next war, such a statement contains only half the truth. There was no wide change in the forms of industry, but there were a few changes of exceedingly great importance, and furthermore there was a great industrial development. Different kinds of business did not arise so rapidly then as now, but the few kinds which were carried on multiplied in different parts of the state.

The lack of good means of transportation perpetuated colonial conditions to the period which we are now considering. The growth of the transporting business is the key to the wonderful differences which we everywhere see between those days and our own. For example, we obtain supplies of grain, such as wheat and corn, and

supplies of meat, such as beef and pork, in immense trainloads daily coming from the West. Modern transportation has made this possible. In those earlier days it was more of a problem to get a cow from an interior Vermont town to Boston or New York or Montreal than it is to-day to get a carload of beef from the western prairie to Europe. Now every step in such a process is carefully provided for, and the business of providing for it has given rise to whole systems of great industries which influence the welfare of millions of people, provide millions of others with daily food, and enter the halls of our national government as questions of public policy.

In colonial days these industries of transportation and the problems connected with them did not exist. That fact accounts for some of the most interesting phases of colonial life and work. Wheat and corn and potatoes could not be easily taken to market, but cattle could be driven, pork could be hauled on the sledges in winter, and potatoes could be turned into starch or whisky. Whisky was a very highly condensed form of grain, starch a condensed form of potato. You will find that the marketable products of the farms went into those forms of merchandise which combined the most value with the least bulk. There were one hundred and twenty-five distilleries in the state in 1810, turning out one hundred and seventy-three thousand gallons of spirituous liquors.

An agricultural community, even in its earliest days, needs certain artisans. It needs, for example, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, and shoemakers. Individual workmen were more necessary in these crafts

then than they are to-day, because now great factories do the work, and in the factories each man does only a small part of the work which is done on the completed article. Then each workman mastered the entire trade and was a sort of factory in himself.

The products of such labor were locally consumed. To-day they enter into trade and come even into the range of international commerce. The individual blacksmith then made many tools; the individual carpenter made many wares. Over one hundred and eighteen thousand dollars' worth of cabinet work was done in the state in 1810. Fulling mills dressed many yards of cloth. In the year above mentioned the amount was nearly a million yards; one hundred and sixty-six mills were then operating. The local tannery tanned and dressed many skins. The itinerant cobbler worked no small part of these up into boots and shoes. Sixty-five thousand pairs of boots and more than twice that number of shoes were made in 1810.

Some of these trades necessitated others. The blacksmith must have iron. There was plenty of it in the state, and so you will find that the production of iron was localized where ore and fuel were near together. Many little iron mines, foundries, and forges were scattered over the older-settled portions of Vermont. There came a time when coke instead of charcoal was used in the furnaces. That did away with the necessity of near-by forests for fuel. There came a time when new processes were invented for converting pig iron into bar in large quantities. That centralized the iron business in certain localities where the largest natural deposits of

ore were found. So the iron business dropped out of sight in Vermont after a time, except when unusual emergencies created a special demand. At Woodford there was a forge built for making anchors for the gunboats which Jefferson's administration bequeathed the country. The War of 1812 also acted as a stimulus to Vermont's iron business, as we shall see later.

A Vermont lawyer who was on Governor Chittenden's staff in 1794, and was in the same year sent to England as a special agent for the Episcopal Church, wrote some letters describing the condition of things in Vermont as he knew them before he left the state. The letters were published in a little book in London,¹ and they make rather interesting reading now. Among other things this writer very frequently mentions the iron industries of different towns.

We read in his book that Tinmouth then had foundries and a furnace at which all kinds of hollow ware were cast. At Skenesboro were Mr. Arwin's large forges and foundries. Mr. Burnham of Middletown also had large foundries and forges. At Fairhaven a furnace had been erected for casting all kinds of hollow ironware. At the same place were also two forges, and a slitting mill for making nail rods. Benson and Orwell, towns on Lake Champlain, abounded with ore and had a number of foundries and forges. At Brandon good bar iron was made. At Chittenden was a large furnace which yielded \$10,000 as the proceeds of its second blast in 1795. Between Burlington and Colchester, on the great falls in the Onion River, were Ira Allen's works. At

¹ J. A. Graham, *Descriptive Sketch of Vermont*, London, 1797. .

Vergennes were others. So the account runs on, showing us that the iron business was quite a factor in early industry in the state and that the works were scattered over the older western portions. The census of 1810 showed that there were sixty-seven cut-nail factories and sixty-five trip hammers in operation.

The letters also indicate a general thrift among the farming people. The inhabitants of Shaftsbury were said to be wealthy. They had especially favorable markets at Troy and New City. They evidently possessed handsome houses, for it is especially mentioned that they used fine white marble for underpinnings and fireplaces. It was also used for tombstones. The uplands of Sunderland produced large crops of hay, wheat, Indian corn, hemp, and flax. There were farmers in Clarendon who cut from two hundred to five hundred tons of hay in a season. They made butter and cheese in abundance, so of course must have had good herds of cattle.

Farmers of the mountain towns, like Readsboro, Stamford, Glastonbury, and Somerset, raised cattle for the markets. In such regions, well up among the hills, game was still abundant. The moose had gone north, and beaver, too, had left the more thickly settled southern portions of the state; but foxes, wolves, deer, bears, and rabbits still remained. The town of Dorset was so infested with wolves that sheep raising was hazardous business.

We hear of the farmers of Cavendish getting lime to use as fertilizer at the kilns of Saltash, now Plymouth. The towns of Ludlow and Reading were also supplied

from the same source. The soil about Bennington was especially good, and vast quantities of wheat and Indian corn were raised, besides great crops of hay of red and white clover and herd's grass. Winter wheat was then a sure crop in Vermont. Wheat was raised for the New York markets, in fact, until about 1825, in the southwestern part of the state.

This part of the state had the advantage of being near water communication to Troy. The markets on the Hudson were always good, and roads were excellent for the times. In winter, especially, when they were smooth with snow and the Hudson was bridged with ice, it was comparatively easy to market any kind of produce. Ox and horse teams were kept busy going to Albany with loads of wheat, pork, beef, butter, cheese, and potash, and returning with store goods or a snug little sum of ready money for the thrifty owner.

We begin to hear more about fruits and fruit raising. Bennington boasted of apples, peaches, pears, red and white plums, grapes, currants, gooseberries, etc. It is said that wax grafting was invented by one of the inhabitants of Shaftsbury, although this was at a later date, and that having perfected the system he taught it to others. So proficient did his disciples in the art become that in the months of April and May the exodus of grafters almost depopulated the town of the male portion of its inhabitants.

More evidences of thrift appear in the descriptions of houses of the time. Those at Bennington are said to be positively "elegant." They were made of wooden frames and filled in with brick and mortar. Some were

even made entirely of brick. The house of a certain Mr. Tichenor, so the writer of those letters said, had "chimney pieces and hearths of beautiful clouded marble as highly polished as any I have seen in London." If the writer were alive to-day he would be pleased to learn that Vermont marble has not lost any of the reputation which he was one of the first to make known to the Old World.

If one wishes to learn about the life of the people and get a bird's-eye view of what was going on over the state, this eighteenth-century gossip is of no small interest. We learn that the schools of Manchester were especially good; that the town of Newbury was supplied with water by an aqueduct; that the same town had the "most elegant church in the state" and the only bell; that at Bellows Falls Colonel Hale had built a toll-gate across the Connecticut River; that rights of lock navigation had been secured over the falls, so that the settlements above could enjoy the blessings of river transportation; that Windsor had one of the best corn mills in New England; that at Rutland there were an oil mill, a brewery, and a hat factory; that Fairhaven possessed a paper mill, and a printing press which used paper made at the mill from the bark of basswood trees; that ore from a certain lead mine had been taken to London for Dr. Johnson to analyze; that Mr. Clark of Orwell could make Epsom salts from his salt spring by boiling down the water.

The author also makes mention of the great pines in the state, some of them being six feet through at the base. Other fine timber abounded in his day. He

speaks of the winter travel to Canada by sledges. In various towns schools are mentioned, both day schools and academies. There were seven academies and grammar schools incorporated before 1800, and fifteen more before the war. Churches, oftentimes several denominations, existed in almost every town. He says the religion at one place was a "medley of almost every denomination under heaven,"—a condition which would no longer be regarded as peculiar.

Conditions which awaited new settlers seem to have been more favorable than in earlier days. These letters describe settlers as coming from Connecticut to Sandgate, cutting the timber, chopping it into lengths, piling these in heaps, burning them, collecting the ashes, boiling them down into salts, harrowing over the land, and sowing it to wheat or planting Indian corn, without any further cultivation. Wheat was said to yield from thirty to forty bushels per acre. The writer remarked: "Thus the labourer gets his grounds cleared without any expense and with little trouble, and his first harvest seldom fails of yielding him double the original cost of the whole land so cultivated." By saying that the farmer got his ground cleared without expense the writer probably meant that the product of the ashes would sell for enough to repay the labor of clearing.

B. Industrial Transition

New enterprises were being started. In 1811 the legislature granted a charter authorizing the manufacture of glass. A factory was built on the western shore of Lake Dunmore, and ran for many years, employing

about forty people. At Middlebury, a little before the War of 1812, a stone cotton-factory was built which made cotton cloth that sold for fifty cents a yard. At the same place, a little earlier than this, marble had been found, and a factory was built. It was the first extensive one in the state for working marble. Quarries had been opened, however, a good deal earlier. In Dorset, in 1785, Isaac Underhill was making fire jambs, chimney backs, hearths, and lintels for the capacious fireplaces of that day. Limestone or slate had been used previously, but the new fashion of using marble once begun, people came from distances of fifty or a hundred miles to get these beautiful fireplace stones.

This was years before marble was sawn, so the sheets had to be riven off where Nature had formed strata from four to eight inches thick and then hewn into the desired shape and dimensions with mallet and chisel. When one layer ran out, there was nothing to do but find another which had already yielded sufficiently to atmospheric forces to allow the hand of man to complete the work.

Railroads had not as yet pierced the state. Steam navigation did not begin until 1808. Over in the eastern part of the state Captain Samuel Morey of Fairlee was years before that working on his model of a steamer, and as early as 1791 constructed a steamer and exhibited it on the Connecticut River. He afterward transferred it to Morey Lake, and in 1795 secured a patent. He also showed his invention to friends of Fulton, and tradition says that when a few years later the latter produced his triumphant work the disgusted captain

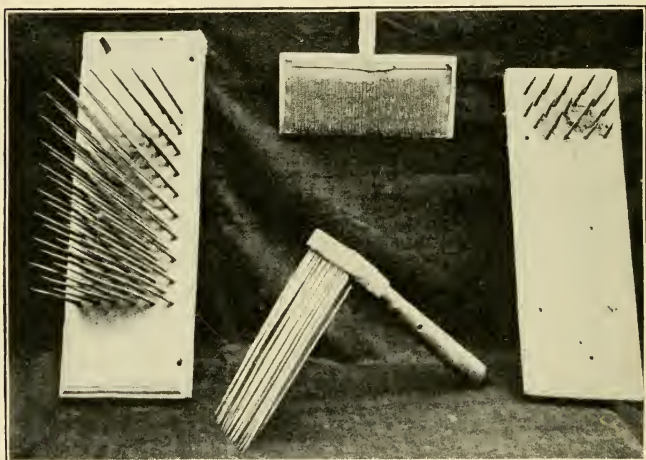
sank his own apparatus to the bottom of the lake. It has been searched for, but like Captain Kidd's treasure, *non constat*. Lake Champlain is not far from the Hudson River, and it was not long after the *Clermont* had puffed its victorious way from New York to Albany before one of the finest steamers in the world could be seen tearing about the lake at the terrific speed of five miles an hour. Steam navigation had come to stay.

Of course sailing vessels had traversed the lake for years. In 1749 the Swedish naturalist, Kalm, visited Fort Frederick and found there a sailing vessel plying regularly between that point and St. John's in Canada. That was probably the first such vessel built on the lake; but between the French and the English the practice did not cease, and after the wars were over the lake became a highway of commerce.

One of the few products of the Vermont forest for which there was then a demand was ship timber. This could be marketed only when there was water near to float it to the ports. In Vermont that confined the early lumber business to the vicinity of the Connecticut River or Lake Champlain. Since none of the ship timber in western Vermont was on a water route to the New England ports, it was taken to Europe instead. The well-timbered sections of white and Norway pine bordering the lake had through that body and its outlet water communication to Quebec and thence to Europe. In 1786 Ira Allen built at Winooski Falls the first saw-mills in this section and sent the lumber to Quebec. The demand was for oak for ship timber, and white and Norway pine for masts and spars. A good trade grew

up. The Quebec outlet for Vermont timber lasted a third of a century, and then the trade turned and began to come the other way.

It must have been quite an undertaking to get a raft together and take it through to Quebec as they used to do. The men lived on the raft, equipped with tents, provisions, and cooking utensils. On this crude eighteenth-



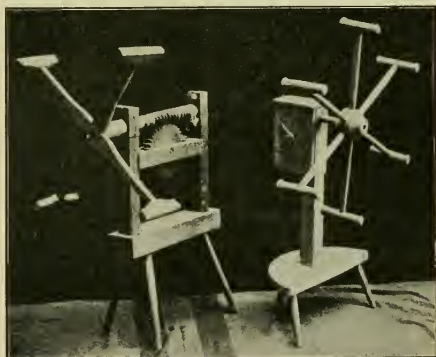
HATCHELS AND WOOL CARD

century house boat they made their way leisurely down to the outlet of the lake, blown by the favoring winds. We can imagine a little excitement now and then at the falls as the huge, unwieldy craft went blundering along.

Lumber trade was not the only trade with Canada, and Quebec was not the only mart. The settlers found in Montreal a nearer market, and sailing craft of all kinds plied the lake picking up cargoes of wheat and

potash, products of the Champlain Valley, and bringing in return merchandise that had come from over the seas. In the winter long trains of sledges made their annual trips to Montreal, just as from the other parts of the state they went to Boston or Portland, taking their loads of beef, pork, and other produce to exchange for goods and cash.

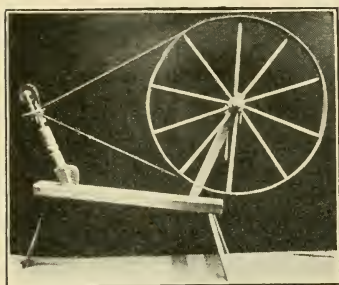
Before the War of 1812 some important changes had begun in the older portions of the state in the manner of cloth making. Before 1800 no very successful experiments had been made in making cotton or woolen in large quantities by machinery. So far as this state was concerned cotton was hardly an article of commerce at all. It was rarely used for domestic purposes, nearly all



FLAX OR WOOL REELS

the cloth being linen or woolen made by hand from flax and wool raised on the farm. The flax was rotted in the field and then made ready for further use by the hand brake and swingling knife. The tow was then separated from the finer flax by hatchels. The flax was then wound upon the distaff and spun on the little wheel turned by a footboard, and thus made into linen yarn. This yarn was then woven into cloth for sheets, pillowcases, towels, tablecloths, and undergarments.

In 1810 there were nearly two million yards of it thus made. The tow was spun on a large wheel, like wool, and made into filling for linen warp or a coarse cloth for common uses.



SPINNING WHEEL

Wool was carded by hand by the farmers' wives and daughters, and then was spun into yarn on the great wheel. Then it could be woven into flannel cloth. Such

flannel as was not wanted for beds and undergarments was sent to the fulling mill to be prepared for outside clothing. That which was designed for men's wear was fulled, colored, and sheared by hand. Shearing was the shortening of the nap on the cloth. That designed for women's wear was dyed and made glossy by pressing. It was then ready for winter dresses.

The improvements which were spoken of were, first, the introduction of the carding machine, which lessened the labor of preparing the wool for spinning. Carding mills were built, and then the wool could be taken to them to be carded



FLAX WHEEL

instead of being carded by hand at home. In 1801 such a mill was set up at New Ipswich, New Hampshire.

Within nine years there were 139 carding machines running in this state, whose capacity was 798,500 pounds of wool. Imagine the relief which the hand carders felt! Fulling mills had already been in operation for a long time.

In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, a device for removing the seeds from cotton. Cotton wool then



SWIFTS

came into more common use. It was made into cloth in the farmers' homes, at first, until machines were invented for making it into yarn in factories. The yarn was then put out to be woven on the common loom. In 1810 there were over 130,000 yards of cotton used in the state, but this was a very small amount compared with the 1,200,000 yards of woollen and

nearly 2,000,000 yards of linen. In that year there were in Vermont 23 spinning jennies, equal to about 800 spindles ; but there were nearly 68,000 spinning wheels and 1500 looms. However, the change had begun and it was not long before the spinning machine and power loom revolutionized processes completely in both cotton and woolen manufacturing.

We see, therefore, that before the War of 1812 a few very important changes had begun which were to have far-reaching effects on the cloth-making business of this country. Some of these changes were to fix the industries of the South and make slavery a harder thing than ever to uproot ; but so far as they concerned Vermont these changes were but slightly felt before the War of 1812, and only in the older portions of the state. Long after the war, as we shall see, these hand processes, which have now long been abandoned and have left us only picturesque relics of spinning wheels as their legacy, continued to prevail throughout the greater portion of the state.

C. Educational Conditions

In framing the constitution of the state the fathers made provision for the education of the children, and really laid the basis of the common-school system. They provided for different classes of schools, foreseeing well the need of higher education as well as that given by the common schools. "One grammar school in each county and one university in the state ought to be established by the direction of the General Assembly." Thus did the men whose own training

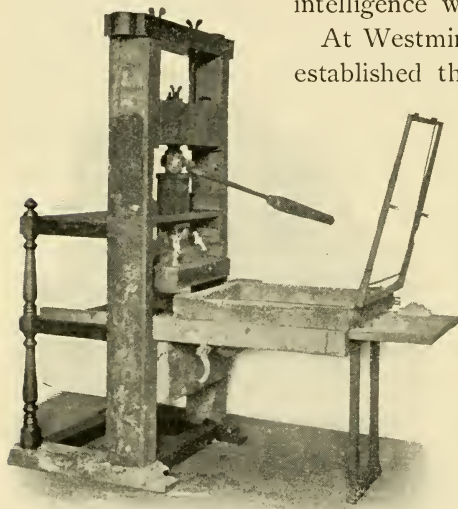
had been in the hard school of adversity provide a way for their children to reap advantages which they had never known and never could know.

In 1791 the University of Vermont was incorporated and located at Burlington. In 1800 Middlebury College was incorporated. Before the War of 1812 the two institutions had graduated one hundred and sixty-six students. The operations of that war somewhat embarrassed the pursuit of education at the former college. In the summer of 1813 large quantities of United States arms were deposited in the university building and a guard of soldiers stationed there, which "very much interrupted the collegiate exercises," it is said. The next year collegiate exercises were entirely suspended and the building was rented to the government.

Grammar schools and academies increased in number, medical societies were formed, newspapers had begun to flourish, all before the War of 1812. Town libraries were not unknown, and the work of training teachers had begun. As early as 1785, J. Eddy, the Quaker town clerk of Danby, opened a select school expressly to train young men to teach. At Pawlet, in 1804, was organized one of the first educational societies in the United States.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the average of intelligence was low in the state. It was not. The facts just cited would be sufficient to indicate an exceptionally keen interest in educational matters. The ministers of the early churches were often men of keen minds and clear thought, as well as possessors of vivid

imaginations. Dr. Williams of Rutland was a Doctor of Laws, a member of the Meteorological Society of Germany, of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts. His reputation, at least, was international. Such men of course were an exception, but general intelligence was the rule.



THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS IN AMERICA

On this press the first newspaper in Vermont was printed in 1781, in the Westminster Courthouse

At Westminster, in 1778, was established the first printing

office in the state. At the session of the legislature following this, state printers were appointed. The two preceding sessions had promulgated their laws in manuscript. In February, 1781, the first newspaper printed in the state was started

at Westminster by the proprietors of the printing office mentioned above. It was called *The Vermont Gazette, or Green Mountain Post Boy*. It had an interesting couplet as its motto:

Pliant as reeds where streams of freedom glide,
Firm as the hills to stem oppression's tide.

It was not destined to be as enduring as the hills, for in about two years it was discontinued. Other papers were started, however, and before the year 1800 the state was the possessor of three enterprising journals, one at Bennington, one at Windsor, and one at Rutland.

D. Financial and Economic Legislation

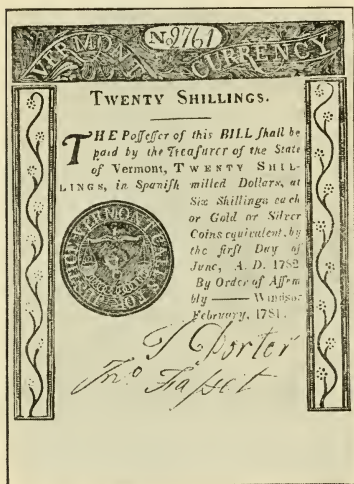
In the period which we are now studying, Vermont issued paper money and established coinage. Before and during the Revolution the monetary conditions of the American colonies were in a fearful and wonderful state. The issues of paper money by the separate colonies and of Continental currency by the combined colonies went the way of all fictitious values. Depreciation went on until to say that a thing was not worth a Continental indicated a very low estimate of its worth.

To add to the disturbances caused by its own falling value, the colonial issues which were legally made had to cope with a tremendous output of counterfeit bills. Our present manufacture of paper money is so safeguarded that it is a very difficult thing to counterfeit it successfully, and a comparatively easy thing to detect the fraud. But the situation was very different then.

The people of this state suffered so much from counterfeit money and the failure of banks that agitation began for the issue of currency by the state.¹ So,

¹ The returns from six counties in 1808 show sixty-one indictments for counterfeiting or passing counterfeit money. In November of that year the General Assembly requested the governor to secure the aid of the Canadian authorities to disperse the counterfeiters who infested the southern borders of Canada "preying upon the property of the good citizens of this and the United States." — *Governor and Council, V, 502.*

in 1781, Vermont determined to follow at a safe distance the example of Congress and the neighboring states. An issue of £25,155 in paper money was authorized. The bills were to be in denominations running from one shilling to £3. Notice that this was before the adoption of dollars and cents, or as it is commonly called, the decimal system of currency.



FACSIMILE OF VERMONT BILL OF CREDIT

In order to make this money worth what it claimed to be on its face, provision was made to lay taxes to redeem it. It was to be redeemed by the treasurer of the state by June 1, 1782, with specie at the rate of six shillings to the Spanish milled dollar. It is to the credit of the state that it was redeemed and for that reason its value was maintained. Notice that Spanish money was

the prevailing coin current at that time. It came to the colonies by way of the West India trade.

Not content with this experiment, some of the people began agitation for the establishment of banks a few years later. The bank measure was voted down in 1787, but came up again in 1803, when application was made for the establishment of banks at Windsor

and Burlington. Again the proposition was turned aside, thanks to the governor and council. Since the bill had passed the house, the governor and council deemed it expedient to give their reasons for vetoing it. These reasons stand to-day as a witness of the sound common sense of these men. The first one really covered the case and is as follows :

Because bank bills being regarded as money, and money like water always seeking its level, the bills put into circulation in this state must displace nearly the same sum of money now in circulation among us, and by driving it into the seaports, facilitate its exportation to foreign countries ; which, as bank bills cannot be made a legal tender, must prove a calamity to the citizens generally, and especially to those who dwell at a distance from the proposed bank.

However, the subject was revived again, and in 1806 a state bank was chartered. It became insolvent like all the rest, and was within a few years wound up and its bills burned as fast as they were received for taxes.

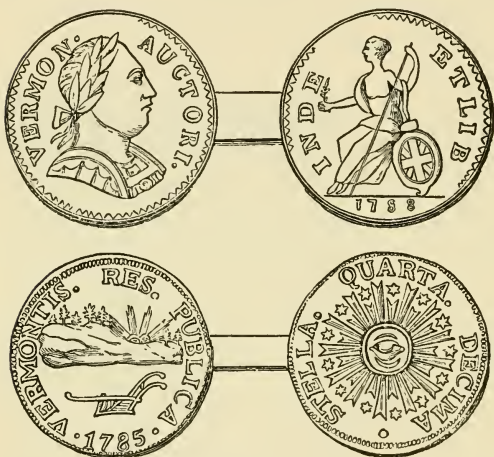
You may have heard of that experiment in coining money in Massachusetts which gave rise to the "pine-tree shilling." About a century later than that Vermont undertook to supply her needs for a current coin in something the same fashion. It was in 1785 that the Vermont legislature granted to Reuben Harmon of Rupert the right of coining copper money for two years. The same privilege was then extended for eight years. Harmon gave bonds of £5000 that he would do the work faithfully. No coin was to be made of less than one third of an ounce Troy weight.

Harmon had to build a place to conduct the business in, make a furnace for smelting, and get machinery for

rolling the bars and cutting and stamping the coins. The latter process was done by hand with a powerful iron screw attached to a heavy beam overhead. It was said that a speed of sixty coins a minute could be made with this contrivance, but in actual practice they never

averaged over thirty.

These first coins are described as follows: Obverse, a sun rising from behind the hills and a plow in the foreground; legend VERMONTIS RES PUBLICA



EARLY VERMONT COINS

1785.¹ Reverse, a radiated eye, surrounded by thirteen stars; legend QUARTA DECIMA STELLA.² The prophecy came true. Another coin was made later, after Harmon's time had been extended. He apparently did not make any profit on his first venture, so applied for the extension, which was granted. The weight of the coin was also diminished from one third ounce Troy weight to "pieces weighing not less than 4 pennyweights, 15 grains each." Harmon then secured partners from New York for the

¹ "The Republic of Vermont."

² "The Fourteenth Star," i.e., the fourteenth state in the Union.

remainder of the term. They brought dies which made coins like the following: on one side a head with AUCTORI VERMON.¹ On the reverse was a figure of a woman, with the legend INDE ET LIB, 1788.²

We do not know how long this firm continued to coin money or how much it coined in all. There is some reason to suppose that the mint ceased to operate in 1788. After three years the firm was to pay for its privilege by giving to the treasury of the state two and a half per cent of all the money coined. It is said that about the year 1800 considerable counterfeiting was done in this vicinity, and a little detective work by the people disclosed the fact that three brothers by the name of Crane were making counterfeit silver coins in the woods east of Rupert, in a secluded glen at the base of Mount Anthony. Upon discovery they fled to parts unknown, and their machinery was destroyed.

There is one curious feature of colonial lawgiving which perhaps deserves a word here, since in this period we see its vanishing traces. That is the custom of granting lotteries for the aid of enterprises of various sorts both public and private. It seems to us an almost shocking ethical laxity in an age which we have become accustomed to regard as especially strict and puritanical. Perhaps if we were to look at the age a little more sharply we would modify our views of it somewhat. This practice of granting lotteries, at any rate, was quite a universal custom throughout the colonies, and was employed to secure money to build a church or

¹ "By the Authority of Vermont."

² "Independence and Liberty."

help a college or do any similar work of religious and educational uplifting.

In this state the object of the lotteries seems to have run more to internal improvements. Of the total number of twenty-four lotteries granted between 1783 and 1804, when the last grant was made, nine were either for repairing or building bridges, and five were for repairing or building roads. Two were made to help men erect breweries, and one to assist in building the



THE GOVERNOR PALMER HOUSE, DANVILLE, WHERE THE LEGISLATURE MET IN 1805

courthouse at Rutland. Bridges were to be built over the White River, the Black River, the Otta Quechee River, the Otter Creek, the Lamoille and the Deerfield rivers from the proceeds of such speculation. Oc-

casionally a lottery was granted to help a man recover from losses sustained by fire. Fire-insurance companies had not yet been established in the state, and the method of lottery was doubtless thought to be as equitable a way as any to distribute losses.

Under the stimulus of lotteries turnpike companies were incorporated, and for some years following 1796 a turnpike craze swept the state. Fifty companies were incorporated within a few years. They were rarely

a success, and as public highways multiplied it became evident that the tollgate was doomed. Most of the companies surrendered their charters, and their roads became public highways.

One or two other matters deserve to be mentioned, although perhaps they do not, strictly speaking, come under the caption of financial or economic legislation.



THE PRESENT STATE HOUSE AT MONTPELIER

The first of these is the permanent location of legislative sessions and the erection of a state house. In 1805 Montpelier was made the capital of the state. There can be no doubt that the dignity of the state was enhanced greatly by having a fixed capital instead of an itinerant legislature. The other thing to be noted is the rapid formation of counties. Seven were established before 1791, and four more in the following year. After this

the work went on more slowly, the last county, Lamoille, not being formed until 1835.

LIFE IN THE NEWER PORTIONS OF THE STATE

After the close of the Revolution population rapidly increased, and a fair share of it sought the newer portions of northern Vermont and the "Y" of the Green Mountains. The Hazen road became famous as a means of transit for settlers across country into the new land. Peacham, which for a time had been the terminus of the road, had a period of prosperity, and was of some importance for a few years as a point of Indian trade. In 1805 the Passumpsic Turnpike Company was incorporated and did something in road construction.

The writer of the gossip letters which we have quoted says that for six years previous to his account Caledonia County had a rapid growth. Orleans County remained an almost unbroken wilderness until after the Revolution, inhabited by Indians and visited by an occasional white hunter. After the Revolution the southwestern portion of this county was made accessible by the Hazen road.

Returning for a little to the settlement of Caledonia County, we find there a new element among the incoming settlers. Hitherto we have noticed only settlers who had come from southern New England. Now we have immigrants from abroad. Certain companies formed in Scotland sent agents to America to find where good farming land lay and to make purchases of tracts in favorable sections. It happened that the president

of Princeton College, Rev. John Witherspoon, owned a large tract of land in Ryegate, and as the agent of one of these companies went to him for information, he sold to him the southern half of that town in 1773.

This company was called the Scots American Company, and was composed of about one hundred and forty farmers of Renfrewshire. So we have the nucleus of one Scotch settlement in the town of Ryegate. In the following year an agent of another company, the Farmers' Company of Perth and Stirlingshire, bought seven thousand acres in the southern part of Barnet. As the result of these two purchases, large and flourishing settlements of Scotch immigrants were formed, and in their honor the county was given the old Roman name of Scotland, — Caledonia. These settlers were intelligent, industrious, patriotic, honest, and religious, and formed a valuable addition to the population of this part of the state.

The northern part of this county remained for some years the habitat of moose and deer. The early settlers of Burke would go on snowshoes to the north of that town, where the animals yarded in winter, and bring back on their shoulders or on rudely made hand sleds — "moose sleds" they called them — the proceeds of the hunt, great packs of hides and meat. The skins were sometimes made to serve the purpose of beds in the earliest homes.

Great quantities of "salts" were made here and marketed at St. Johnsbury for three or four dollars a hundred pounds. At length an ashery was built in Burke, and the proprietor took his potash to Portland through the

Crawford Notch in the White Mountains. Mails came into the county through Danville from St. Albans. They were carried on horseback across the country, the carrier heralding his approach by means of a tin horn, and distributing the mail from his saddlebags as he went along. This peripatetic post office was a truly rural delivery. Our latest improvement in the mail service is not such a new thing after all.

Of course the southern part of the state had established routes before this. The governor and council established a weekly post between Bennington and Albany, New York, as early as 1783, and the next year the legislature created five post offices, with mails going once a week each way between them. These were at Bennington, Rutland, Windsor, Brattleboro, and Newbury. The rates of postage were the same as those of the United States; they depended upon how far the letters were carried. They ran as high as twenty-five cents for letters that had been brought several hundred miles. Postage was paid by the one who received the letter, not by the sender. The post riders were allowed two pence or three pence a mile for travel, and had in addition the exclusive right to carry letters and packages on their routes. When Vermont became a state of course her mail service became a part of the government system.

Settlers pushed up the Passumpsic Valley from Caledonia County, without roads save those of their own making, following the trail which Rogers's party of rangers had taken nearly half a century before on their return from Canada. Here and there were found

marks on the trees, thought to have been made by the rangers ; at one place was found a coat of mail, and at another remnants of an old iron spider. By this old route settlers now came into the county of Orleans.

Four or five settlers planted potatoes at Barton in 1793. They found them growing the next season and used them as food, with lunge from Crystal Lake. It had been but few years since the Indians had pitched their wigwams here on their favorite camping ground at the outlet of the lake. Early inhabitants saw their numerous half-decayed cabins. An old Indian, Foosah by name, told of killing twenty-seven moose and many beaver in this vicinity in the winter of 1783-1784. In 1796 General Barton, for whom the town was named, built a sawmill at the foot of the meadows, but for gristmilling and for groceries the settlers had to go to Lyndon or St. Johnsbury. They had no road save the spotted trees to guide them, and no carriage but their own strong legs and sinewy arms and backs. In the spring of 1809 wolves became especially troublesome among the sheep. In one year four bears were killed in John May's cornfield and the woods near by. There were still moose in the woods eastward, a day's tramp toward the Connecticut River.

From Barton settlers moved into Charleston in 1802. Having settled, they found that their best way of communicating with the outside world lay through Burke, which they could reach by crossing the mountain and the "ten-mile woods." It was fortunate that these settlers found the Clyde River stocked with trout, Echo Pond "our meat barrel," and partridges plenty in the

woods, else they might have fared worse than they did in the cold season of 1813. Wheat, rye, and barley all failed, and the people went to the woods for leeks and groundnuts as well as for game.

By way of the Barton River early settlers in Coventry vended their salts, made by boiling down the lye of hard-wood ashes, to manufacturers of pearlash, and got in return salt, flour, and leather. In the year of the famine they had to live for days on suckers, the stream having been depleted of its trout.

Parties from Danville and Peacham cut a road through Irasburg to Troy in the fall of 1807 and transported hundreds of tons of salts and pearlashes to Canada. In the days of the embargo much of this trade went to Montreal through the wilderness in winter. In the spring of 1808 a great deal of pearlash was still left in the country, and the Barton River was cleared out so that rafts and barges loaded with pearlash could be taken to Quebec. "The Landing" became the name of the place where it was put on the boats. The channel of the river being thus cleared and intercourse once begun, it was easy to keep up trade relations after the war began, and we have in consequence the smuggling of the following years.

Lake Memphremagog had been of old a famous fishing ground among the Indians, and they were loath to leave. In its waters they had taken salmon and mas-kinonge, and through the adjacent woods they had hunted moose, deer, bears, and smaller fur-bearers. It is not strange that in the fall and winter of 1799 Troy received a visitation from Indians. A party of men,

squaws, and papooses, under the chief Susap, came and built camps beside the river and wintered there near the settlers. The deer and moose were growing scarcer, and the company were half starved through the winter. They made baskets, cups, and pails of birch bark, and eked out a scanty living until spring ; then they left, never to return.

One of their number, an old woman known as Molly, gained a great reputation as a doctress among the whites, who suffered that winter from an epidemic. This woman was familiar with the events of Lovewell's War, which occurred in 1725 and at which she said her husband was killed. Some years after her kindly services to the settlers at Troy she went to Guildhall. In 1817 she was found dead on White Cap Mountain, in East Andover, Maine, where she had gone to gather blueberries. She had survived her husband nearly a century.

At Richford we hear that Indians hunted along the Missisquoi River and in the mountains in winter, freezing the meat which they secured from their slaughtered game. In the spring when the ice broke up in the river and lake they took their meat by way of Champlain and the Sorel River to Caughnawaga to market. But the coming of the white settlers hastened the day when the Indian must depart. These occasional trips were but his last farewell to the land of his fathers and the places which soon would know him no more.

Some Indian chiefs in Canada applied to the legislature in 1798 for compensation for the lands which their tribes had owned in Vermont. The claim embraced

nearly the whole of the present counties of Addison, Chittenden, Franklin, and Grand Isle. The legislature supported the agents of the Indians during their mission, and sent them away with one hundred dollars as a friendship token, but did not solve the vexing problem of how to extinguish with equity the claims of the prior inhabitants to the lands of which they had been dispossessed. A later session decided that the Indian claims were extinguished, if they had ever existed, by the treaties between France and Great Britain in 1763 and England and the United States in 1783. A resolution to this effect was sent to the Indians, and although it would be interesting to know how they interpreted the logic of this decision, it appears to have stopped any further claims.

One more incident will be enough to finish the picture of life in these northern settlements between the Revolution and the War of 1812. In the spring of 1796 Ephraim Adams and three other young men from Ipswich, New Hampshire, purchased a thousand acres of land in Knight's Gore, now in the eastern part of Bakersfield. On this land they worked three summers, and in the winter went back to New Hampshire to teach school. Working in this way, in three seasons they cleared their land and made farms for themselves, having wheat to sell. We can guess that they never forgot the events of those three summers, when they slept under the bark of an elm for cover and cooked their food over an oven built of stones and plastered with mud. They finally bought a cow, and when their wheat ripened sufficiently to cut, they boiled it and

ate it with milk. They made a threshing floor out of basswood logs split in halves and laid flat side up, and improvised a fanning mill for winnowing their grain. People came from the lake to buy their wheat. From the ashes which he saved while clearing his land young Adams secured cash for the building materials of his first dwelling.

From such instances we can see that the process of settlement was much the same as it had been two or three decades earlier in the older portions of the state. But if the process was no less hard at first a more rapid development appears. Neighbors were plentier, and the older towns served as markets for the newer. Then, too, for this northern part Montreal and Quebec furnished markets and a trade which led to interesting results when national policy once more became uppermost in Vermont history. But that brings us to the War of 1812.

CHAPTER IX

THE WAR OF 1812

PLATTSBURG BAY, Sept. 11, 1814.

I could only look at the enemy's galleys going off in a shattered condition; for there was not a mast in either squadron that could stand to make sail on, the lower rigging being nearly all shot away, hung down as though it had just been placed over the mast heads. The *Saratoga* had 55 round shot in her hull; the *Confiance* one hundred and five. The enemy's shot passed principally just over our heads, as there was not 20 whole hammocks in the nettings at the close of the action; which lasted, without intermission, two hours and twenty minutes. — *Extract from Macdonough's Report to the Secretary of the Navy.*

MILITARY EVENTS OF THE WAR

The above extract makes it apparent that a naval engagement of no mean importance had taken place on Lake Champlain in early September of the year 1814. What was it all about?

While our Vermont settlers had been clearing land, selling ashes, raising wheat, building mills, opening quarries, establishing iron works, founding schools, erecting churches, trading with Canada, and doing a lot of peaceable things which were good for them and the state as a whole, the national government had begun a war with England which involved the settlements along the Canadian border and the Champlain Valley, interfered with the trade to Canada, and gave rise to a great naval battle. That battle was what the American commander was reporting to the Secretary of the Navy. We shall learn more about it presently.

So far as Vermont was concerned the theater of this war was much the same as that of the Revolution, or to go back still farther, that of the French and Indian wars. Already the Americans had attempted an invasion of Canada. Now the British were going to operate from Canada and invade the states.

In this emergency the distress of the northern border can be well imagined. It was settled enough to invite attack, but not enough to repel it. It is no wonder that the thinly populated towns were in a quiver of excitement. The almost unbroken wilderness stretching back from the boundary was peopled with imaginary terrors. The entire length of the Champlain Valley was exposed to border warfare; and although the north of the state was farther from the beaten line of invasion, it was penetrated by the Memphremagog and its tributaries and a few highways of traffic to the neighborhood of many settlements.

Rumors of projected Indian raids came floating through the woods. Many people sought safety in flight and abandoned their homes until more peaceful times. Cattle were driven off, portable property removed, and cultivated farms left untilled. The more courageous remained at home, but stockades were built, and parties of volunteers were stationed at various points along the border. The main roads into Canada were at Troy, Derby Line, and Canaan. Guards were maintained at these places. At Derby Center barracks were built between the graveyard and the pond, with a guard-house on the hill near by. A company of men was raised from Derby, Holland, and Morgan, and spies were sent into Canada. Rumors that an invasion was to be

made through Stanstead gave way to the more reasonable news that it was to be through the Champlain Valley. The Derby company and other similar ones throughout the state were then hurried off to Plattsburg.

The United States entered this war with more enthusiasm than prudence. The fortunes of battle were against her at the start. Her magnificent foreign commerce instead of being benefited by war was destroyed by it. By the close of the year 1814 there was scarcely an unarmed vessel on the ocean which dared carry the stars and stripes. Our national capital was taken by British troops. In Europe, where the English were at the same time fighting Napoleon, that conqueror of nations was forced back step by step until he was forced off his throne. Then England sent her veterans to Canada. A force of eighteen thousand men began to move up Lake Champlain toward Plattsburg.

Meantime there was a buzz of preparation in the Champlain Valley. During non-intercourse and the war business boomed at Vergennes, where the great falls in the river lent water power to mills and forges. It was here that Macdonough's fleet was fitted out. Here also were cast supplies for the war—no less than one hundred and seventy-seven tons of shot. Such business employed furnaces and forges and kept rolling mill and wire factory humming. With magical rapidity the American fleet was built. The flagship *Saratoga* was launched the fortieth day after the great oak which went into her keel had fallen from its stump in the forest.

No action worthy of note occurred on the lake until June, 1813. On the second day of that month two

sloops, the *Growler* and the *Eagle*, started from Plattsburg in pursuit of a couple of British gunboats which had put in a tantalizing appearance. The next morning, while chasing the boats near the Canadian line, the sloops got cooped up in the narrow channel of the Sorel River, into which the boats had fled, within sight of the fort on Isle-aux-Noix. Land forces came up both sides of the river to help the galleys. Wind and current were dead against the sloops, and after a plucky fight of three hours they surrendered. Two more vessels were thus added to the enemy's fleet.

On the 30th of July a British detachment landed at Plattsburg and destroyed the American barracks. The public stores had been removed to Burlington, and the enemy after leaving Plattsburg proceeded thither and fired a few shots into the town. The cannon on the shore began presently to play on them and they forthwith retired, leaving the town unharmed.

For a time the northern army was located at Burlington, under General Hampton. On the 25th of September Colonel Clark was detached with one hundred and two men and ordered to attack a small British force at St. Armand on Missisquoi Bay. He found the enemy unprepared. After a ten-minute fight the entire English force surrendered, and the one hundred and two Americans marched one hundred and one prisoners back to Burlington. On the 19th of December Lieutenant Macdonough went into winter quarters at Otter Creek with his flotilla, and the northern campaign ended for that season.

In the following spring thirteen English galleys, three sloops, and a brig passed up the lake and stopped at the

mouth of the Otter Creek. They opened a spirited fire on the battery at the mouth of the river, intending to carry it, to force their way up the river, and to destroy the American shipping at Vergennes which was being made ready for service. But the garrison at the battery, aided by the Vermont militia, repelled the attack and the enemy turned again northward. The American shipping saved that day from destruction proved its worth four months later at the battle of Plattsburg Bay.

As the summer months passed it became evident that a land battle would be fought on the New York side of the lake. The northern army had been ordered to the Niagara frontier, and the situation grew embarrassing to the one brigade at Plattsburg. Prevost had concentrated at the head of the lake a large army of veterans for this invasion of New York. A strenuous cry for help was made to the neighboring states.

Acting officially for the state of Vermont, Governor Martin Chittenden, son of the old governor, Thomas Chittenden, did not consider himself authorized to order the militia into service outside the state. The governor was a Federalist. His Federalism, however, did not prevent him from issuing a call for volunteers. The response was a ready one. By the 11th of September, the day when the great fight occurred in Plattsburg Bay, twenty-five hundred men from the Green Mountain State had reported at Plattsburg ready for service.

Early in the morning on that same day the British fleet weighed anchor at Isle La Motte and sailed south around Cumberland Head, where Macdonough's vessels lay anchored in a line stretching thence to Crab Island

Shoal. On shore an American army of less than five thousand men stood on the south bank of the Saranac River waiting for the first move of the British force of three times their number which was drawn up on the opposite side.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning the naval fight began. A shot from the *Linnet* struck a



AN OLD PRINT OF THE BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG

hencoop on the *Saratoga* and released a gamecock. He hopped up on a gun slide and crowed; and while the men laughed and cheered at the omen, Macdonough, having first kneeled in prayer on the deck of his ship, fired the first shot from one of the long guns. All the vessels were presently engaged.

A double-shotted broadside from the British flagship struck the *Saratoga* squarely and sent half of her men

sprawling on the deck. Forty were killed or wounded; the rest picked themselves up and sprang again to the guns. Macdonough was working like a common sailor. As he stooped to sight his favorite gun a shot from the enemy cut in two the spanker boom and it came crashing down on his head, knocking him senseless. Within three minutes he was again at the gun. Then another shot came, tore off a gunner's head, and sent it into Macdonough's face with enough force to knock him to the other side of the deck. Such was the fashion of the fight. For more than two hours it went on, while all along the lake shore and through the valley and on the uprising hills there watched or listened to the reverberating thunder of the guns the people to whom the result meant safety or flight.

On the brow of one hill on an island opposite Plattsburg stood a boy of some thirteen years looking down at the fight in the bay below him. His father was in the American army. Long before sunrise that morning he had the horses harnessed, and when the tops of the British masts appeared, coming south from Isle La Motte, he drove to the hill, hitched the horses to a tree, and found a spot where he could overlook the whole scene. After the British hauled down their colors he saw a boat with two or three men in it putting out from the shore close by. He wanted to see the British ships, so he ran down to the shore, called to the men in the boat, and together they rowed out to the scene of battle.

He always remembered that scene. In November, 1901, although over one hundred years old, he retold

the story as vividly as though it had happened but the day before.¹ He described the ship which he visited as being built of oak and planked with white-oak planks six inches thick. That planking was stuck solid full of balls. He says:

The riggin' was cut all to pieces. There was n't any of it left. Our folks used chain shot. That is, they bored holes in the cannon balls and took two balls and fastened them together with a big chain. They cut the shrouds and everything right off. The decks was the most awful sight I ever saw. It was — it was awful.

Blood, blood was everywhere! The decks was covered with arms and legs and heads, and pieces of hands and bodies all torn to pieces! I never see anything in this world like it! Seemed as if everybody had been killed.

It seemed that way to others also. A British midshipman of the *Confiance* wrote to his brother as follows:

Our masts, yards and sails were so shattered that one looked like so many bunches of matches, and the other like a bundle of rags. The havoc on both sides is dreadful. I don't think there are more than five of our men, out of three hundred, but what are killed or wounded. Never was shower of hail so thick as the shot whistling about our ears. Were you to see my jacket, waistcoat and trousers, you would be astonished how I escaped as I did, for they were literally torn all to rags with shot and splinters; the upper part of my hat was also shot away. There is one of our marines who was in the Trafalgar action with Lord Nelson, who says it was a mere flea-bite compared with this.

During the naval action something had been doing on shore. The opening volley of the *Confiance* had

¹ This account of the battle may be found in *The Outlook*, Nov. 2, 1901, where an interview with the survivor, Mr. Benajah Phelps, was reported.

been the signal for the land forces to begin. At the bridges and the fords of the river the brunt of the fighting fell. The father of the boy who watched the fight from South Island was an orderly sergeant and was sent up the river with his company to guard a bridge and a ford. So of course the lad found out afterward how it was done.

They took every single plank off the bridge. Of course the British column had to go higher up stream than to the ford. That was about three miles up the Au Sable.¹ Father's company guarded the ford all day. The woods was thick and the big trees and bushes came right down to the water's edge, and father's men hid in them. When the British stepped into the water to cross, they shot them right down. Some of them dropped in the stream and was carried away by the current. Not one of our men was killed. . . . The British tried hard to get across the river in Plattsburg but they could n't. Why, you see, all the Vermont milishy was there! It was impossible to git across that river.

Still another bridge was guarded by our Derby company. When the British started up the Saranac to cross, the captain of this company was ordered to follow on the south side and destroy the bridge. He managed to keep a little ahead of the British and reached the bridge first. Then he and his men made a dash for the bridge, picked up the planks, and walked to the shore on the stringers, carrying the planks. Before they had finished, the British came up and opened fire. Bullets struck the planks as the men carried them off, and some of the men were killed. But the men finished the work, and then shot the British off into the water when they tried to cross on the stringers.

¹ It must have been the Saranac instead of the Au Sable.

As soon as news came of the surrender of the British fleet the army began preparations to retreat. They retreated so precipitately that provisions, ammunition, military stores, and wounded men were left behind. The total British loss has never been correctly ascertained; the Americans lost not more than 150 men. Young Macdonough's fleet comprised 14 vessels of 2244 tons, 882 men, 86 guns. The British fleet was somewhat superior in equipment, — 16 vessels of 2404 tons, 987 men, and a total of 92 guns. On the approach of winter the victorious fleet was taken to Fiddler's Elbow, near Whitehall; there it lies to-day beneath the waves.

Macdonough was presented with a tract of land on Cumberland Head, overlooking the scene of his victory, as an expression of the appreciation of his services on this occasion. You will find this opinion expressed in Theodore Roosevelt's history of the Naval War of 1812: "Macdonough in this battle won a higher fame than any other commander of the war, American or British. . . . Down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history." He served his country later on foreign seas until his health gave way, and died at sea in 1825 on board a trading brig which had been sent by the government to bring him home.

The Green Mountain men, who had rallied to the help of the frontier before the government at Washington had even asked their aid, received thanks from the commander at Plattsburg and thanks from the general government for their services. And here, so far as

its military features go, the War of 1812 ends for Vermont. The national policy which led to this war produced some results, however, that were not strictly of a military nature, and it will be of interest to notice what they were.

THE SMUGGLERS OF EMBARGO DAYS

It is one of the ideas which statesmen have that if you are going to war with a nation you ought not to trade with its people at the same time. It violates the principle of consistency, and this is very important in politics. But it sometimes happens that those who do the trading think differently from the politicians, and then one finds that secret or clandestine trading goes on, which is commonly called smuggling. This was what happened in the seaport towns of the Atlantic colonies before the Revolution, and this was what happened along the northern borders of Vermont before and during the War of 1812.

The policy of withholding trade from Great Britain was not intended merely to prevent any such trade from growing up in the future, but it was designed to cut off the already existing trade. We have already seen what a blessing it was to the settlers of northern Vermont to have the markets of Canada open to them. The restrictive policy, therefore, bore upon them with corresponding heaviness.

The first embargo act, which Congress passed in December, 1807, interfered with seaboard commerce. Since Vermont had no seaports it did not injure her;

in fact it had the reverse tendency, for it turned more people toward Canada as a market for their timber, potash, and pearlash. But when this first embargo was supplemented by the land embargo of March, 1808, the shoe began to pinch. What made it worse, steam navigation was just opening on Lake Champlain, and people were beginning to see that good profits could be made from this lake trade.

To the genuine distress of the people at this land embargo you must now add another element, the zeal of the federal politicians. They seized this opportunity to excite great dissatisfaction with the national government, and they alarmed its supporters in this state. The very day that the embargo law was received by the collector of the Vermont district he wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury that it would be impossible to execute that law without a military force.

President Jefferson's embargo policy did not meet with uniform approval or success. In fact it was everywhere systematically evaded. Jefferson had made a brief visit to Vermont in 1791, and if we may judge by the letter he wrote home he did not enjoy himself. Lake Champlain was muddy; there were not enough fish; the wind blew in his face; the weather was sultry; he understood that there was as much fever and ague and bilious complaint on Lake Champlain as in the swamps of Carolina; the land was locked up in ice and snow for six months. So it is probable that the President's personal recollections, added to the accounts which he heard of the great trade which was springing up with Canada, gave him a somewhat jaundiced view of the situation.

He forthwith issued a proclamation the preamble of which was as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas information has been received that sundry persons are combined or combining and confederating together on Lake Champlain and the country thereto adjacent for the purposes of forming insurrections against the authority of the laws of the United States, for opposing the same and obstructing their execution; and that such combinations are too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the Marshals, by the laws of the United States:

Therefore all such persons were ordered to disperse and military officers were directed to aid in subduing this trouble. The collector's fears may have been well grounded, but such a proclamation only served to make the situation worse.

When the proclamation, which was published in full in *Spooner's Vermont Journal* May 9, 1808, met the startled eyes of the inhabitants of this state it roused a variety of emotions. But one thing was sure, they did not relish being advertised as insurrectionists. Accordingly in the following month the same paper had the pleasure of printing the following memorial, with a petition that the land embargo be discontinued. It is worth quoting because it throws light on the situation and reflects the general indignation at Jefferson's proclamation, besides stating pretty fairly the position of the petitioners. From this statement it would appear that Vermont in 1808 would not have been wholly averse to a free-trade policy.

NO REBELS IN VERMONT

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, ESQ.,
President of the United States

A MEMORIAL

of the Inhabitants of the town of St. Albans.

. . . After an impartial investigation of the subject, so far as they are capable, your Memorialists cannot conceive how the object of the general Embargo, which was the protection of our "vessels, our seamen and merchandise on the high seas," can be any way connected with the provisions of the law of March 12; or how our "vessels, our seamen and our merchandise on the high seas" can be exposed to any dangers from the belligerent powers of Europe, in consequence of a commercial intercourse, either by land or water, between the citizens of Vermont and Lower Canada, and other places in like situations; *nor can they be taught*, that a law which forbids the exchange of such commodities as they do *not* want, for the conveniences and necessities of life, and especially for the sinews of war, the *gold* and *silver* of that nation, whose injury it seems, is contemplated by such law, can in any *possible* degree, tend to the welfare of the Union.

The militia in the meantime was ordered out and stationed at Windmill Point to stop some rafts bound to Canada. The rafts, favored by darkness and wind, escaped the vigilance of the militia and made their way through to the forbidden land. This incident served to throw suspicion on the efficiency of the Franklin County militia, and they were superseded by United States troops. The whole course of affairs served to irritate the people, alienate a portion of them in this section of the state from the support of the national policy, and to cheer the smugglers in their traffic, while the resort to force stimulated them to more desperate resistance.

Lake Champlain offered an unparalleled field for smuggling operations. An active contraband trade centered at St. Albans. The northern part of the lake, with its many little shady nooks, secluded bays, wooded shores, and uninhabited spots, gave the illicit traders the assistance of nature and a most convenient highway. In these hidden corners they could lie secreted by day and run their devious ways by night.

Of all the boats engaged in the smuggling business on Lake Champlain the *Black Snake* was the most famous. She had been built originally to run as a ferryboat between Charlotte, Vermont, and Essex, New York. But her construction made her an excellent boat for the smugglers. She was forty feet long, fourteen feet wide, four and one half feet deep, built with straight high sides, and could carry one hundred barrels of potash at a load. With freight running from five to six dollars a barrel, you can easily see why smuggling paid. The vessel had a sharp bow, a square stern, a forecastle but no cabin, carried seven oars on a side, and was manned by a powerful and desperate crew. She was unpainted, but had been smeared over with tar, and probably took her name from the color.

For months this boat plied her illegal traffic and either overawed or eluded the government officers. She was at length taken by the revenue cutter *The Fly*, and after a sharp fight all but two of the crew captured. These were taken later. The boat was caught up the Winooski River, whither she had gone for a cargo. Dean, one of the captured crew, was executed, and the rest were sent to the state prison, which had been built a few years before.

When the war opened and the British army entered Canada the incentives to trade greatly increased. The presence of this large body of transients afforded a temporary market for provisions such as beef, flour, and other products of the farm, which created an itching palm in many a thrifty farmer's hand and led to contraband trade by land. There was an opportunity to lay the foundation of handsome fortunes, and not a few supplies from settlers in Orleans, Caledonia, Franklin, and other near-by counties found their way across the line. High prices were paid at Stanstead.

Of course attempts were made to intercept the trade. Officers were picketed at every road leading into Canada, and encounters with the smugglers were not infrequent. The latter then adopted the practice of going frequently in sufficiently large numbers to overawe or override the officers of the law. The northern trade, however, was seriously interfered with when military companies were raised for the war. The captain of the Derby company which has already been mentioned had orders to patrol a line extending from Essex County to Lake Memphremagog. He picketed every road and stopped this illicit trade for a time. This not unnaturally roused the antipathy of our neighbors across the border, for they were as anxious to buy as the settlers were to sell.

As soon as the invasion of the Champlain Valley demanded the presence of the volunteers at Plattsburg the Canadians had a chance to vent their spite. The absence of the local troops left the Derby frontier unprotected; and one dark night a few Canadians stole across the line from Stanstead, set fire to the barracks,

guardhouse, and officers' quarters, and made good their escape before the town was roused. But from that time until the close of the war it was not prudent for a Canadian to be seen on the streets of Derby after nightfall unless he was ready for a coat of tar and feathers.

As the army's demand for beef increased encounters by land became more frequent. Through the northern woods, the back pastures, and in unfrequented places along the main roads smugglers took droves of cattle for the use of the British army. Eastward through the woods to the Connecticut River this scattered but exciting trade went on.

In the year 1813 a young lad from Albany was out one day in the timber, when he espied a large drove of cattle on what was known as Corey's smuggling road. This was a passage which the smugglers had cut in the woods, and it ran from Craftsbury through Albany, under the side of the mountain toward Lowell, coming out into the old Hazen road at a point about west of where Albany Center now stands. What the boy saw was a drove of beef on its way to feed the British army.

Tingling with excitement, the lad rushed to Irasburg, where the United States officer of customs was stationed. Major Enos, the officer, heard his story, and taking the boy up behind him on his horse, started in hot haste for Craftsbury, where he raised a posse of determined men. They took the old Hazen road and followed the smugglers toward Lowell. Cattle not being rapid travelers, the drovers were overtaken at Curtis's Tavern near Lowell Corners, baiting their live stock.

The smugglers determined to rely on the sympathy of the Lowell people and fight. Posting two men at the bars of the inclosure where the cattle were quietly feeding, they threatened to shoot the first man who attempted to let them out. The major, on reviewing his forces, found that neither he nor the entire posse had brought so much as a horse pistol with them. But they had what was better, good courage. Two of his men, armed with stout canes, marched up to the guardians of the bars and informed them that the first man who fired a shot would be laid dead. Then a third man coolly took the bars out one by one and laid them aside. The entire drove of cattle passed out and were headed back over the mountain without a shot being fired.

The smugglers tried to rally enough men to retake the cattle, but were not able to do so. The cattle, one hundred and ten in number, were taken to Craftsbury common that night and guarded by citizens till morning. Then they were started for Burlington for the use of the American army. The smugglers followed after, still determined to retake their property. Several skirmishes occurred on the road, the last one of which, at Underhill, drew some blood. But the cattle reached their destination safely.

In March, 1814, the customs officers at Barton received word that a party of smugglers had crossed the line and were coming through that town. Securing assistance, the officers undertook to stop the party at a hill near the present village of Barton Landing. After a smart fight the smugglers forced their way through. They carried cloth, steel wire, and other things merchantable

among settlers. Part of the goods they hid ; part was taken by the officers. Two of the men were made prisoners, but the next day they escaped. In August of the same year a drove of cattle was seized in this town by the officers, but a rescue party came from Canada to retake them.

Plenty of similar incidents took place elsewhere all along the border. Franklin County was the scene of many skirmishes. The smugglers frequently traveled by night, and went in such large companies that it was dangerous business for the officers to try to intercept them. The frequency of these occurrences shows how strong was the motive to trade. To the settlers it meant the possibility of getting a little hard cash, which was too rarely seen even in the best of times. The presence of large numbers of British troops in the vicinity of the state created a temporary market for cattle at the farmers' doors ; and a man could reason that he had a right to sell his stock in his own dooryard to any purchaser without asking embarrassing questions about destination.

The men who bought the cattle and drove them across the border clearly defied the laws of the land ; but they reaped an additional profit, and there are men in nearly every community who will take such risks. In Irasburg an association of smugglers was formed, and was not broken up until an association of anti-smugglers was formed in 1814 to defeat it. This company borrowed money to conduct its business of a man in a near-by town, and gave him a joint and several note as security. The taking and retaking of contraband goods

furnished the two associations considerable activity during the war. Such times were conducive to the erection of jails and courthouses; and the former were said at times to furnish insufficient accommodations for all who were qualified to lodge in them.

We must remember that the settlements were more or less broken up, the times productive of lawlessness, and not a few of the best men away fighting for the American cause. We must remember, too, that party excitement ran high in this country at the time, and that New England especially had been opposed to the embargo, opposed to the war, opposed to the administration. Vermont's interests were essentially those of Federalist New England. She had elected a Federalist, Martin Chittenden, for governor. Communities were split up into factions and party spirit fairly boiled. So, while Vermont troops were not backward to repel invasion, many speculative men were not backward to make a dollar out of the presence of the enemy.

In this Vermont was not alone. It was said by the British themselves that two thirds of their army in Canada was living on beef supplied by American contractors. The road to St. Regis was covered with droves of cattle, and the river with rafts of goods, destined for the enemy's use. Such facts may not fill us with pride, but they show that Vermont was not peculiarly or willfully errant, but rather was suffering with others the inevitable results of the war policy. The part which her sons voluntarily took in the military events of the war atones for the laxity with which a few of the stay-at-homes kept the laws.

CHAPTER X

FROM THE WAR OF 1812 TO THE CIVIL WAR

PERMANENT FORCES AND CHANGING FORMS

The forest and the soil, these were the elements the settlers had to deal with, and social forms and forms of industry were governed by that fact. The settler was



IF HE BROKE AN AX HELVE, HE
MADE FOR HIMSELF ANOTHER

of necessity a farmer, or was engaged in those simple, primitive, extractive industries which themselves rest on the gifts of nature. The work of man, the complicated modern system of organization which multiplies steps between producer and consumer, had not yet prominently appeared. The tilling of the soil has always been our first necessity.

If our settler-farmer, chopping in the forest, broke his ax helve, which would rarely happen with such helves and skill as his, he made for himself another from the stick of tough ash

seasoning in the shed. If one of the oxen broke a bow in pulling stumps over in the "new piece," another bow, properly shaped in his own workshop, was ready for its place. Very likely the yoke itself was of his framing. With ax, saw, auger, shave, and ever-ready jackknife, there were few structural needs in house, shed, or barn which he could not supply.

The demands which the conditions of life in a new land put upon him made him an adept at wood handicraft, gave him skill and aptitude, and created a reputation for the Yankee and his jackknife which has spread far and wide. The drafts upon his inventive genius were daily drawn, and a



OLD-TIME AX HEADS

century of American invention has been the result. In his sickle and brain lay the modern reaper; in his scythe and brain was a mowing machine; the short-tined fork with which bronzed arms tossed the fragrant hay in wind and shine suggested the hay tedder.

Beside the crude versatile power of his grandfather the helplessness of the modern man to do things for himself is appalling. From top to toe, inside and out, he is dependent upon others than himself. The products of all continents and zones appear on every table.

The contents of the humblest homes bespeak the work of spindles, looms, factories, and toiling hands innumerable. Democracy, aristocracy, and despotism are hallmarked on our dishes, clothes, and viands. It is quite conceivable that a century ago a Vermont farmer, clad in rough homespun, sat down to eat his humble meal in a home which he had built with his own hands, on a chair which he had fashioned, at a table which was of his making, and ate from homemade wooden dishes food which had ripened in no other sun than that which daily passed across the blue over his little clearing.



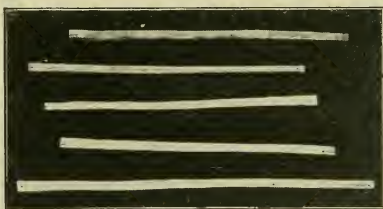
WOODEN DISHES

If you follow this settler through the round of the changing seasons, you will find him at every step a marvel

of resource and self-reliance. The forest gave him material for shelter and furniture; the soil had in it sustenance for the inner man. With a few sheep, a few cattle, and some poultry acquired, you will find him on the road to prosperous living. With a gristmill, a sawmill, and a blacksmith shop in the neighborhood, you will find a community that is almost self-sufficing. Add a carding mill, a fulling mill, and a tannery, and the possibilities of luxury appear.

There is no standing still in the universe. From the teeming earth beneath our feet to the nebulous depths and innumerable stars that delight our uplifted gaze,

all is in process of incessant change. The creatures who dwell upon the earth and are called men in the brief period of their visible existence here know no such thing as rest. When they disappear within their homes, and darkness comes which they call night, and they seek slumber and refreshment for their mortal frames, the life within their bodies pulses on, while on the other side of the orb there crawl forth into the sunlight other men who take up the ceaseless task of human toil. And the men of the East and the men of the West work for each other, although they know it not, for all human life runs into one seething stream. These men grow old and bent and gray, and their bodies are put away under the earth; but life and toil do not end thereby, for, lo, others have come to take their places. They begin where the others ended, so that no age among these men is like any other that was ever seen or known upon the face of the earth. They dig in the earth; they sail on the waters to and fro; they build; they fetch; they carry. They die also. All is in process of incessant change.



RIVEN LATTICE

In the quiet of this age which we now study were laid the foundations for the intricacy, the complications, the delicate adjustments of modern life. The demands which were put upon these people were broad as life itself; they began almost with the cradle and they

lasted to the grave. New needs, greater economy, wider knowledge forced upon men methods, resources, and adaptations before unknown. Some of the changes we may trace, but many more we must pass unnoticed, merely noting how a few things were then and how they are now.

A HALF CENTURY OF PASTORAL LIFE

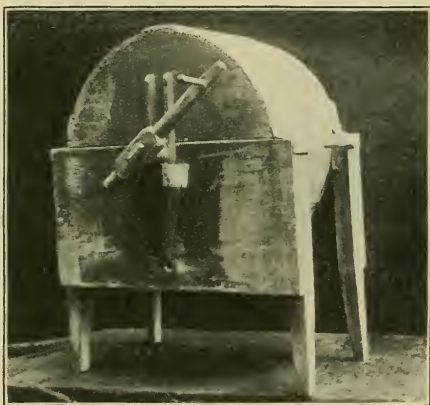
It may appear futile to characterize with one adjective any period of modern life which covers so long a time as fifty years, but it is unmistakable that the almost unbroken stretch from the war which we have just noticed to the next one that will be our study marked a period of our people's history with characteristics which were unique and never to be repeated. Vermont is still a rural state, a state of villages and small towns and scattered farms instead of cities. Our entire population if massed together would not make a city remarkable for size. Yet the rural life of the first half of the last century was of a character distinct from that of to-day. The hardship of settling was over; the conditions of life were easier; neighborhoods settled down into conventional lines of rural industry and social intercourse.

It was a transition period, as all periods are in a certain sense. The significant features of modern organization had begun; but on the whole it was a breathing space preparatory to the tremendous shaking up which began before the Civil War, went on through that war, and is now whirling us on more rapidly than ever to some culmination which we can only remotely forecast.

But in that age the stamp which comes from honest, toilsome life next the soil had not lost its character in the rush of our bespectacled age of specialization which substitutes machinery for muscle and divides labor so minutely that man becomes an automaton working on a piece instead of a creator of a whole thing. The modern drift of the wealthy classes back toward the country pays an unconscious tribute to-day to the superior elements of country life in the bygone days. Men know no better means to conserve and perfect their physical lives than to do artificially and from choice what their fathers did naturally and from necessity.

It was the simple, primal strength, the whole-hearted and sweet neighborliness, the well-rounded development of their lives, which made the sons of this state, "Vermont men," everywhere the synonym of efficiency coupled with integrity, and still gives the oldest inhabitant license to talk on unchidden of the "good old times."

The season of 1816 tested the capacity of our early farmers for self-sufficiency, and so demonstrates one of the strong points in the life which we would



REVOLVING CHURN

describe. Spring came that year unusually early. Farmers planted their crops in the hope of a great harvest,

but in the month of June a belated frost smote the growing fields. On the morning of the 9th of that month farmers had to break ice before their cattle could drink in the troughs. Snow came in the northern part of the state and lay on the level one foot in depth, or was whirled by the wind into drifts two or three feet deep. The



THE SAP YOKE BORNE ON STRONG SHOULDERS

growing crops were cut down, the foliage of the trees was destroyed, and the hope of harvest was taken away.

The beeches did not put forth their leaves again that summer.

Ready money was never plenty, for barter of home-grown commodities had always taken its place. But now, with the shortage of crops, through the greater part of the year not a dollar could be raised in many an interior town save from the sale of ashes. Ashes and salts of ashes were about all that could be exchanged. All forms of provisions were scarce and high; there was no corn or rye except the little which could be brought from a great distance. Some wheat was made use of

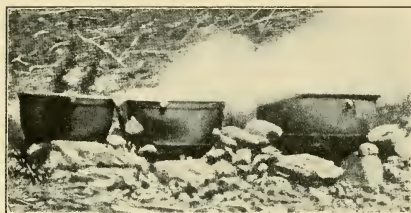


AN OLD DUGOUT TROUGH

by harvesting it in the milk, drying it in ovens, and mashing it into a dough which could be baked or boiled like rice. Fresh fish and all forms of vegetable life which were wholesome were eaten. At Swanton there were ten fishing grounds between the falls and the lake where great seines were drawn, and hither came people to barter their maple sugar and other scanty resources for fish. We hear of no outside relief; we hear of no starvation; the settlers were self-sufficing.

When the sun began to warm up the blood of the maples in spring our farmers began their sugaring, not in a comfortable sugarhouse with the modern

refinements of evaporator, arch, and sugar pans and the luxury of tin sap buckets and a gathering team, but in the open air, with a great kettle hung in front of

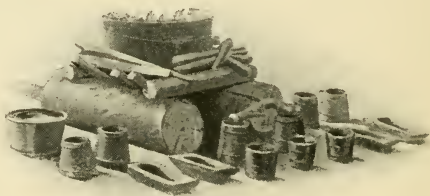


OLD SUGAR KETTLES

the rude covering which sheltered the sap boilers through the night and from the occasional heavy fall of a "sugar snow."

Instead of the neat, small hole in the maple, you would have found then the broad gash of the ax or gouge, or wound of the large bit. Instead of the gathering team you would then have seen the sap yoke borne on strong shoulders, with much trudging here and there among the maples, sometimes on snowshoes, sometimes without.

Then, for many frosty mornings, while the fish hawks began to circle near and the wild geese to fly north and the buds to swell in the hard-wood forest, there was the season's stock of firewood



SUGARING UTENSILS OF FIFTY YEARS AGO

to cut and work up. What a smell of new life in the air as the chips flew among the dank leaves and the pungent odor of the reeking earth crept up to the nostrils!

When the buds burst into leaf on birch and maple there was rustling among the seeds stored away in mouse-proof cans and boxes, and a supply was brought out for garden and field; while the old-fashioned plow with its wooden mold-board turned over the rich loam, and the first bobolink gave sign that it was time to plant the corn, for the maples were "gosling green."

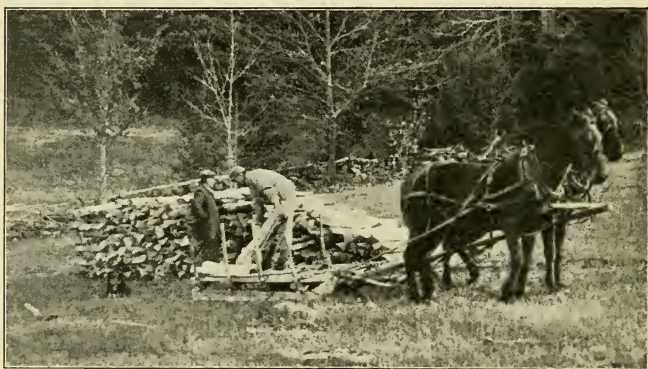
There was plenty of work in spring, with soap to be made, sheep to be sheared, and fencing to be done before the young stock was turned into the timber and half-cleared lot that was called the back pasture. "Slash fence" was built most quickly and easily there; but along the slope of the well-tilled piece in the clearing, if boards were not over plenty, the Virginia or snake fence zigzagged its way along in pasture and division lines.



INSTEAD OF THE NEAT AUGER HOLE
YOU WOULD HAVE FOUND THE BROAD
GASH OF THE AX

We find the farmer planting a greater diversity of crops than we plant to-day on these Vermont hills, because he had to produce so many different things for himself. For example, to supply the need of household linen, flax must be raised. A variety of grains was sown

on every farm,—rye, barley, oats, winter wheat, Indian wheat, and Indian corn. All kinds of vegetables now in common use were then raised. After the crops were in, there were sure to be a few days of stone piling, stump pulling, and odds and ends of work to be done. Perhaps there was a short-handed neighbor to help, and tools to fit up and put in shape for haying.



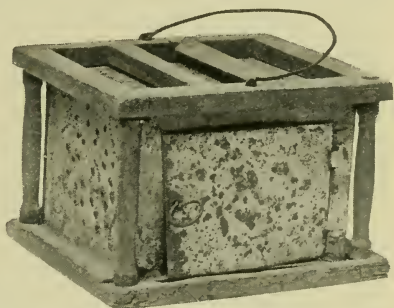
GETTING IN THE SEASON'S STOCK OF FIREWOOD

When the freshness and crispness of the spring mornings had burned off in summer's haze, the swing of the scythe through the grass in unvarying rhythmic motion told of strong backs and sinewy arms. Between hoeing and haying perhaps a day's fishing might intervene and take the farmer's boy into the cool depths of the forest beside some murmuring stream; but for the most part the youngster was rapidly maturing in the company of his elders. There was no place on the farm where a boy could not be useful; sometimes he could do as well as a man, for he could turn the grindstone, spread the

hay, and get the cows, and in the same tasks a man could not do more. Large families were obviously a blessing.

As good sport as fishing it must have been to line bees or go to June training, or to a raising at one of the neighbors', or where some public enterprise like the building of a church or schoolhouse needed helping hands. Then there were the roads to be worked, and the sheep to be washed in the pool, and perchance a neighbor to be helped with a clearing bee.

On Sunday what a relaxation of tired muscles and what a straining of the mind when the entire neighborhood listened to the long forenoon and afternoon sermons, happily broken by a midday lunch with



FOOT PANS, BROUGHT WITH LIVE COALS,
FURNISHED THE WARMTH

gossip around the church steps, the horse sheds, and in the neighboring graveyard. This must have been as welcome and as serviceable as a weekly newspaper. Little wonder that a tithingman was needed to prod the drowsy into the form if not the spirit of greater godliness, when wearied bodies and sated minds gave way before the combined attack of pew and pulpit and sank into natural and audible repose.

Bass viol, psalm book, and pitch pipe were the usual requisites of the choir, and occasionally a flute or clarinet

added strength and guidance to the voices. Hymns were "lined," and singing was general, the entire congregation joining in hearty and somewhat tuneful phrase in each line after it had been read aloud by pastor or precentor. More "minors" were rendered than our generation is inclined to be doleful over; but some of the old tunes bid fair to outlast the jingle of their modern rivals.



HUSKING CORN AND PARING APPLES

Churchgoing might be all very well in summer, when voices of birds and the drowsy hum of insects floated in through the open doors and windows; but it makes us shiver a little, even now, to think what it must have been in winter, in an unwarmed church where foot pans, brought with live coals, furnished the only means of warmth.

In the autumn the harvest! Then, amid the changing red and gold and brown and russet of the forest, the

work of full fruitage went on. It was done by hand, — reaping, threshing, husking, shelling, — but it was labor lightened by good cheer as neighbors changed work, or met beneath the rafters of the barns to strip the ears of corn, or in the low-posted kitchen at a paring bee. On the next day after the paring bee the younger generation would meet and string the apples before they were hung aloft in long festoons for drying. Dried apple, apple sauce, and apple butter were an unfailing resource of the thrifty housewife.

There was rhythm in all this life, whether you seek it in the alternating strokes of the flails on the threshing floor as the threshers beat out the golden



WONDROUS MECHANISMS WERE IMPROVISED
AS CORN SHELLERS

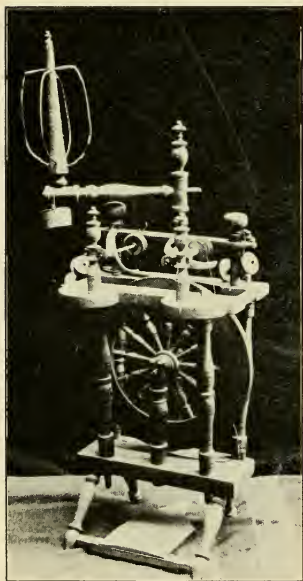
grain, or in the low, continuous rustle of the husks as nimble fingers stripped the ears of corn.

Corn shelling was a task for boys, and the occupation gave a splendid opportunity to the inventiveness of youth, wondrous mechanisms being improvised as corn shellers. Corn was the source of much pleasure and pain. The golden kernels served as counters in many games of checkers and fox and geese, which served to while away long evening hours before the fireplace in

winter. This Indian grain was for years a staple article of diet in various forms whose names — hominy, samp, succotash—bespeak Indian ways of preparing it, taught to the early settlers.

In the fall, too, butchering was done, and then came the time for souse and sausage, smoking hams and drying beef, making mince pies and candle dipping.

The work of the women was as important as that of the men. Into their custody went the wool and flax for spinning and weaving. It was no small task to keep clothed from head to feet the throng of sturdy boys and girls who made up old-fashioned families. In days when cloth production was part of the industry of every household, flax and wool demanded much attention. Now there is left in our homes scarcely a trace of



THE PRETTY FOOT WHEEL—
A RELIC OF OLDEN TIMES

the former textile art. About the only reminders we possess are the pretty foot wheels for spinning, which are sought after in old attics and brought down into modern parlors as relics of olden time. Few farmers raise flax now, and few wives would know what to do with it if they did. Home spinning and home weaving

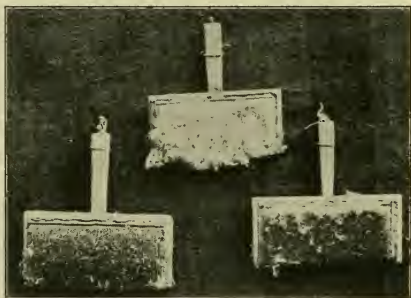
are gone, and knitting will soon be among the lost arts of New England housewives.

Until the advent of the carding mill, the wool was carded by hand, after being cleaned and greased. This made the fibers parallel and ready to roll into fleecy rolls for the spinning wheel. Spinning was a fine art, but was practiced in every household. The quick backward and forward steps of the spinner would have counted miles in a day, while her flexible, alert, and supple movements of arms and body gave natural grace, poise, and dignity of carriage which all the artifices of physical culture can but poorly rival.

After spinning came weaving.

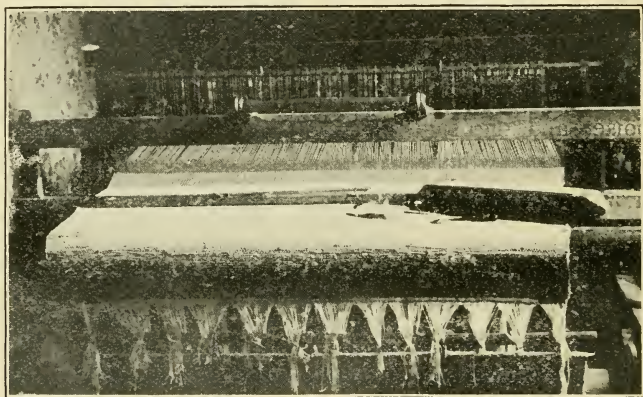
The presence of looms was not so universal as that of spinning wheels; there were consequently in every town professional weavers who would take in yarn and thread to weave at stated prices per yard, or would if desired go out weaving by the day. In such ways itinerant craftsmen began to have their day. The cobbler was another familiar example.

Fine patterns were sometimes made of woven goods; while from the flax skillful weavers made beautiful linens for sheets and coverlets, tablecloths and napkins, many of which have long outlasted their makers.



WOOL CARDS

The dyeing of the cloth was also a home process at first, and flowers of the field and the bark of various trees were used in ways we never think of. The bark of the red oak or hickory furnished pretty shades of brown and yellow; sassafras bark was used for dyeing yellow and orange; field sorrel boiled with woolen was the first process in making black, which was finished by the use of logwood or copperas. The golden-rod, pressed of its



A RAG CARPET ON THE LOOM

juices, yielded material for a beautiful green when mixed with indigo and alum; and the flower-de-luce furnished from June meadows a purple tinge for white wool.

In all our social and economic life to-day the most striking factor is coöperation. Its forms vary, but its force is ever present. All products of our markets are made and distributed by it. All societies, labor organizations, religious and political institutions are standing illustrations of the principle. Now, if we look at the

life we have just portrayed, we may see this same element permeating it all.

Industrially, you find it in this fact : combined effort in the form of mutual assistance takes the place of division of labor. It also saves "hired help," and makes easily possible tasks which would otherwise have been performed with hardship. This is an economic explanation of the "bees" which were so common,—the logging bees, stone-piling bees, clearing bees, raisings, stump pulling and wall building, road breaking, haying, harvesting, and husking. There is in them a coöperative element of distinct economic value.

And now notice their second value : they have an important bearing on the life of the times. Social relations and social ethics were based on these same incidents to a large degree. Hard and exhausting labor is made easy by the hearty cheeriness of the neighbor. This neighborliness forced out of our early society all social stratification and made Vermont as purely a democratic state as one could easily find. Caste was unknown, because all people did the same things. The neighborhood was the social unit.

The women had their coöperative work as well as the men. It took the form of quilting bees, house cleaning, preserving, and other forms of domestic economy, of which we have still a vanishing trace in sewing circles, ladies' aid societies, church suppers, and other activities which now take the form of public charities rather than of private industry. The young people also had common interests in mixed parties at the huskings and paring bees as well as in more purely social forms.

TRANSITION

A. General Features

Having traced in outline the conditions prevailing at the middle of the last century we must at once remember that those conditions did not remain fixed. You will find in history that the height of advance of one genera-



ONE-HORSE CHAISE

tion is usually — not always — the foundation on which the next one builds. For example, in one generation a city has omnibuses ; the next sees horse cars running on fixed tracks ; the next decade, perhaps, finds the horse cars supplanted by the electric trolley. The former methods which in their day were a distinct advance are no longer wanted, but are old-fashioned, wasteful, obsolete.

In a similar way in the history of Vermont we must pass from stagecoach to railroad, from the hand card to the modern woolen mill. The change comes in the period we are now studying.

From 1830 to the time of the Civil War the rough edges of pioneer life were being rounded off. Little by little new industries began to creep in and transformations to occur in our simple communities. The little cabins of logs gave way to the low, wide houses with the



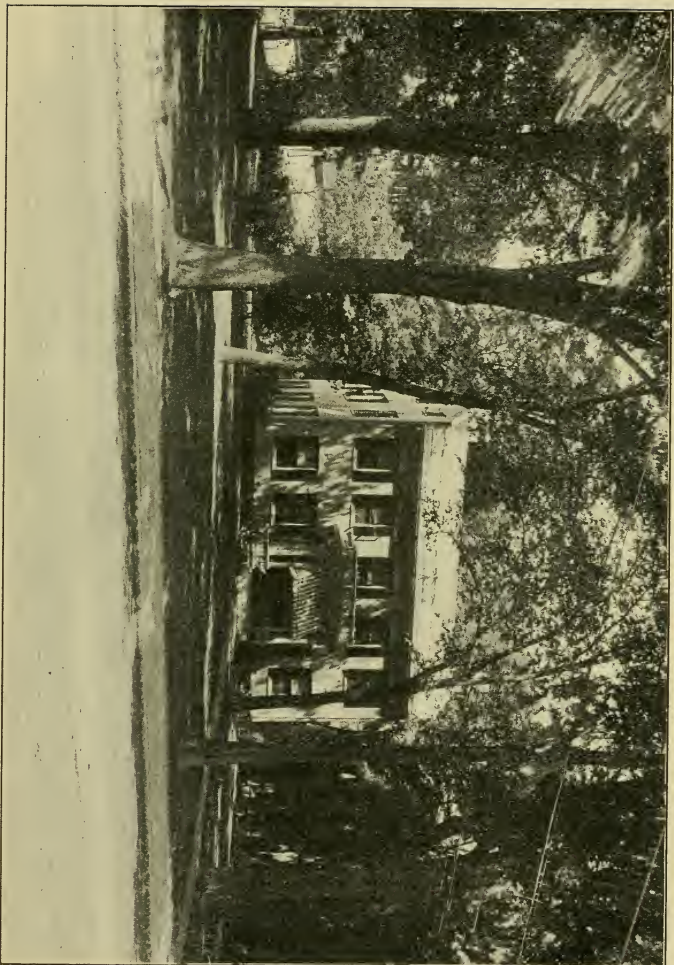
AN OLD TURNPIKE TAVERN

great brick chimneys and fireplaces. The old hill roads, "stage roads" as they are still called in the vernacular, were the lines of busiest thoroughfare only until the railroad came. The industries of the valleys grew more and more felt; the more level if less scenic river roads made their appearance; and some of the old hill towns passed the climax of their glory and began to decline.

Not a few towns in the state had a larger population in 1810 or 1820 than they had in 1850 or 1860, or have even to-day, and three entire counties — Orange, Windham, and Windsor — declined between the census of 1810

and that of 1900. Addison County had a larger population in 1830 than in 1900. The population of the entire state remained practically stationary from 1850 to 1860. In fact, if you look at the census tables you will find that the decade between 1820 and 1830 was the last one that shows any marked increase of percentage in the population of the state.

The explanation of this is not that the state as a whole had become stagnant, or any particular sections of it gone to seed. Its explanation is found in the general conditions of the country at large. It is one of the signs of the enterprise and adventurous spirit of Vermonters that they have sought new fields of activity wherever they opened, and have carried the leaven of the Green Mountain State into many new commonwealths and to all quarters of the globe. The opening up of the Northwest and Indiana territories — Ohio, Indiana, Illinois — and, after the Louisiana purchase, the opening up of the territory west of the Mississippi, drew heavily on the East. When cotton and woolen factories began to rise in Massachusetts and Rhode Island many of the girls and boys began to feel that farm life was drudgery, and that the city had something better for them; and so they went, for better or for worse. Then, just at the middle of the century, the discoveries of gold in California sent a fever for sudden wealth into every town and hamlet of the East, and men went to the Pacific slope to make slaves of themselves for gold and dross. If we should undertake to write the history of the people of Vermont from this point, it would take us into almost every state and territory of the Union, into the mining



BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT, THE PAINTER, BRATTLEBORO

camps of the West, to the seas, and to the lands that lie beyond the seas. So for the remainder of this chapter we must limit our story strictly to the geographical boundaries of the state, and note only what went on therein in a few lines of development.

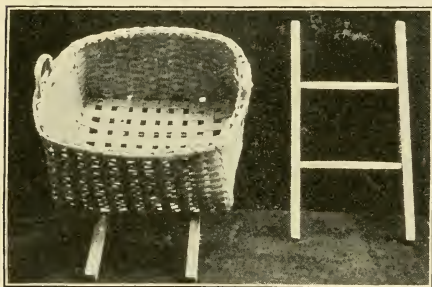
B. Agriculture

Vermont remained primarily an agricultural state, and of her agricultural interests the production of wool was by far the most important single item up to the Civil War. We have already spoken of the textile arts practiced in every home, and have indicated the changes which had begun, even before the War of 1812, in the manufacture of cotton and woolen. When every home was a woolen mill in embryo, every farmer was naturally a shepherd; and sheep breeding did not cease to be an important industry when the process of manufacture changed, — the market for wool remained.

The first sheep commonly bred here were a hardy breed of English sheep, raised both for mutton and wool, although not especially good for either. Their wool was long and coarse, but as there were then no great aspirations for fine-wool clothing it did very well. With the perfection of the process of making really fine cloth, however, there came a demand for a finer staple. Fortunately the demand was met in a way which made Vermont a leader in the production of fine wool.

William Jarvis of Weathersfield was United States consul to Portugal early in the last century. Just before the War of 1812 he succeeded in sending to this country a large importation of Spanish merinos. Apparently

the first importation did not attract much attention, being scattered about, but the stock was being introduced and herds of merinos built up. In 1828 Congress passed the "tariff of abominations," which, among other things, had the effect of sending up the price of wool. This fact and the increasing interest in merinos boomed sheep raising in Vermont. The price of merino wool was one dollar a pound in 1807; it rose to two dollars, then to two dollars and fifty cents during the war.



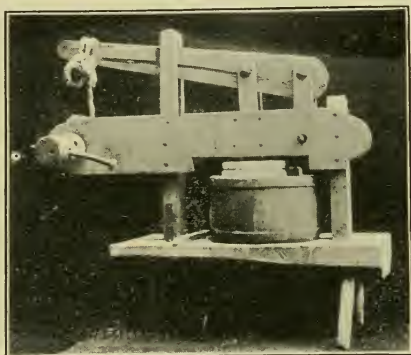
CHEESE BASKET WITH LADDERS

No wonder that farmers went exclusively into the business of wool growing, or that manufactories went up on almost every stream that had water enough to run the machinery.

Of course that state of things was too artificial to last; yet there was enough real economic foundation under the wool business to make it a leading agricultural feature for years. The fabulous prices which had once obtained for merinos fell off, but that only served to allow their good qualities to be spread more widely, since it enabled men of moderate means to own superior flocks of sheep. At home and abroad the fineness of Vermont fleeces gained an enviable reputation, and her merinos were sought after as foundations for herds the world over.

The relative importance of wool growing at the middle of the century is shown by the fact that there were then more than twice as many sheep kept as all other farm stock put together,—horses, swine, mules and asses, dairy cows and other neat cattle. There were then over a million sheep within the state. In 1840 there had been 1,681,819. In that year there were 3,699,235 pounds of wool produced. Wool was the great market product.

There were, to be sure, other things sold from the farms in large amounts. Exports of horses, cattle, and swine, as well as sheep, were important. Morgan horses were a well-known type, famous for nerve,



CHEESE PRESS

endurance, and toughness. More than two million dollars' worth of dairy products were produced in 1840. This amount seems all the more important when we remember that dairying was hardly made a specialty in Vermont farming until after 1830; that butter and cheese were made mostly for home consumption, and that up to 1840 butter seldom brought over ten cents a pound.

The cheese-factory system originated about the middle of the century, but it hardly seems to have held its

own beside the development of butter making. In some farm homes to-day the old, laborious process of cheese making may be seen. Associated dairying began about the time of the Civil War, so it hardly falls within this period of our study; but the improvement of dairy stock had already begun by the introduction of strains of Ayrshire, Holstein, and Jersey blood. The type of cow began to change from that of the beef animal to that of the dairy animal.

The history of the improvement of farm implements would be an interesting study in itself. We find it almost impossible to understand how our forefathers got along with the kind of tools they had. Yet the change to better forms was not always easy to make. For example, in 1825 a plow with a cast-iron mold-board was offered for sale in Poultney for the first time. It had already been introduced in New York and the Middle States, and was gradually working its way into use. But the farmers of Poultney would not buy it. They were afraid it would break; and they were sure it would not work among the rocks and stones of Vermont. Besides, the old plow was good enough. Any one could do the woodwork on it, and a third-rate blacksmith could put on straps of iron. But finally one farmer after another was induced to try the new plow; they found it did not break but did better work than the old plows; and by 1840 the wooden plow was a thing of the past.

So, little by little, old things were laid aside and new things took their places. In 1860 there were thirty-two establishments in the state making agricultural implements. Although their annual product was not

large when compared with other manufacturing industries, nevertheless it was significant of the transition which was taking place in the conduct of agriculture as in all else.

C. Transportation

At the close of the War of 1812 the means of transportation were still primitive enough so that bulky crops could not be taken to distant markets. This determined the nature of farming to the extent that grain was still fed to pork which was carried to Boston in the annual winter trip from every town; that cattle were driven on hoof to market; and that potatoes were turned into starch and whisky. The new land furnished a sure crop of potatoes, and usually a heavy one; the starch factories and the potato distilleries furnished a sure market; both contributed to sap the life of many a splendid old hill farm and leave only a sickly crop of wiry, worthless grass as its inheritance.

About 1820 the Champlain canal opened communication between the lake and New York by way of the Hudson River, and brought a better market for the lumber of the valley than Quebec had been. From that time until about 1843 the lumber trade turned thither. The old Quebec raftsmen clung to their former methods of rafting their lumber to market; but the new companies took modern craft, canal boat and schooner. After our native timber was exhausted, Burlington remained a center for the trade in lumber, which now, reversing the former course of its history, began to come from Canada to us.

The western part of the state had in its water route through the lake and canal and river a more economical access to New York markets than the eastern part ever had to the Boston market till the railroad came. After the opening of the Connecticut and Passumpsic Railroad to Boston the eastern portion of the state was greatly stimulated. The affiliation of the western part of the state with New York and the eastern part with Boston, as centers of trade and news, remains to this day.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF BURLINGTON HALF A CENTURY AGO

In the early part of the century the separate states had done something for themselves in the way of bettering their roads, canals, rivers, and harbors ; and as the surplus in the national treasury grew, politicians began to talk about a federal scheme of internal improvements as a way to spend the money. Jefferson was quite carried away with the idea. But the War of 1812 interrupted the conversation, the surplus vanished, and the whole scheme disappeared, though it left the subject of internal improvements in the air. The Erie Canal

was opened in 1825, and its success turned attention to this particular form of improvement. Considerable interest was roused in this state, and plans were discussed for the construction of canals. The Hudson River and Champlain Canal was an undoubted benefit. A canal board was appointed, and projects were considered for the construction of a canal between lakes



BIRTHPLACE OF LEVI P. MORTON, 1824, AT SHOREHAM

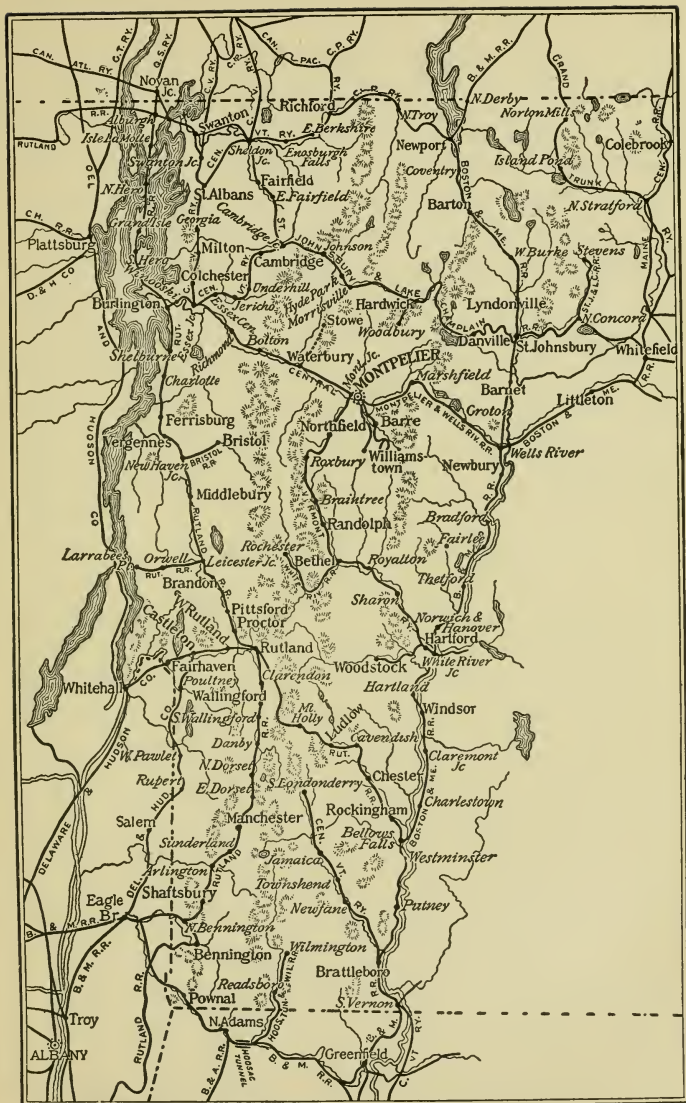
Memphremagog and Champlain, also for navigating the Connecticut. Some surveys were made, but nothing in the way of construction was attempted; and presently railroads superseded canals in public estimation and from 1830 became the topic of the time.

Before the railroads were built some attempts were made to navigate the Connecticut by steamboats. In 1827 a boat called the *Barnet* was built, which succeeded

in going as far up the river as Bellows Falls ; but it was taken back to Hartford and broken up, as its exploit did not warrant repetition. Two years later two boats were built to run between Bellows Falls and Barnet ; but there were too many obstacles to be overcome, and their history was limited to a few experimental trips.

The talk about railroads went on from 1830 to 1840. Surveys were made along the valleys of the Connecticut and Passumpsic rivers to the Canada line, near Lake Memphremagog ; from Burlington along the Winooski Valley to the Connecticut ; from Bennington to Brattleboro ; from Rutland to Whitehall, and elsewhere. Companies were incorporated as early as 1835. But hard times came on, a financial cataclysm swept the country, and the beginning of the enterprises was deferred for some years.

In 1843 another railroad was incorporated, stock was subscribed for, and the Vermont Central began work in 1847. In the following year the first passenger train was run, from White River Junction to Bethel. One hundred and seventeen miles of road were opened, from Windsor to Burlington. Between 1848 and 1851 the Vermont and Canada road laid fifty-three miles of rails, from Rouse's Point to Burlington. Still the work went on. Within a few years a road was built from Essex Junction to Rouse's Point, and from Rutland to Bennington, to Whitehall, New York, and to Troy, New York. The Connecticut and Passumpsic Railroad was extended to St. Johnsbury, and pushed through to Newport in 1862. Laws had provided for the construction of telegraph lines before the railroads were in operation.



RAILROAD MAP OF VERMONT

The coming of the railroads marked an era in the history of Vermont as it has in every other state. Railroads could fetch and carry; they created new markets and transformed country life. The lumbering industry took a new lease of life, and sawmills whose business had been limited to local needs now found a wider demand for their products. All crops could now be marketed, and the slow, tedious trips by horse teams to Portland and Boston were no longer necessary. The business of the country store expanded, and a host of middlemen arose to take the butter, cheese, eggs, wool, and other products of the farm. Ready money became more plentiful, and store goods began to take the place of homespun.

D. Manufacturing and Business

We cannot hope to cover the history of manufacturing during half a century in the brief space here allotted; but perhaps we can cite enough important enterprises to illustrate the kind of change which was going on in Vermont's manufacturing and commercial work. To begin with, we ought to notice that although there was an important growth of manufacturing previous to 1860, and especially in the decade just preceding that date, there was not proportionately a large amount of Vermont wealth invested in manufacturing industries, or of Vermont people engaged in conducting them.

A few figures will make this plain. The total value of farm property in 1860 was \$114,196,989. There were at that date probably over thirty thousand farms in cultivation. There were, however, all told, only

1883 separate establishments devoted to manufacturing, and the total capitalization of these was less than \$9,500,000. The population of the state was 315,098; but the manufacturing wage earners numbered only 10,497, that is, about one in every thirty of the population.

But if we compare now the figures for 1860 with those for 1850, we shall notice another fact which is quite as striking. In 1850 there were 1849 establishments, employing 8445 wage earners, and capitalized at almost exactly \$5,000,000. The wages paid in 1850 were something over two million dollars; in 1860 they were over three million. The value of the products made was over eight million five hundred thousand dollars in 1850; over fourteen million five hundred thousand dollars in 1860. That is to say, summing it all up, in ten years practically the same number of establishments employed twenty-five per cent more people, paid them over thirty-six per cent more wages, and made over seventy per cent more in value of products.

From this little study of figures we learn two things: There was a rapid increase in the value of manufactured goods just before the Civil War, but there was a comparatively slight increase in the number of manufacturing establishments. From this we may go on still further and draw an inference: There had been developing a limited number of large and expanding industries instead of a large number of small and limited industries. This brings us to the heart of the whole matter; for such a course of development is only possible when

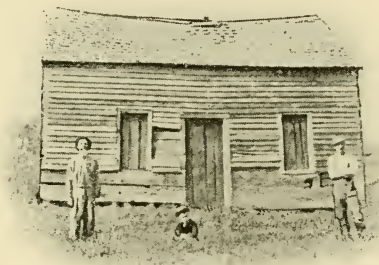
local markets are disregarded. This, then, is the transition which has come to Vermont's manufacturing, — she has ceased to produce for herself alone and begun to produce for others.

This is a far different state of things from that of the earlier days when the blacksmith shop, the sawmill, the gristmill, the tannery, the carding mill, and the fulling mill composed the list of enterprises that could boast of being manufactories. It is true that many small establishments lingered on, supplying local needs; but the other side of the case becomes startlingly apparent when we notice that out of the total \$14,637,837 produced in 1860 over one half was sent out by concerns dealing with the five products, wool, marble, lumber, leather, and grain.

A few illustrations will serve to show better this evolution of industry. In 1815 Joseph Fairbanks came into the Moose River Valley and set up a grist and saw mill at St. Johnsbury. His sons had a mechanical turn of mind and went into the wheelwright and foundry business. They manufactured hoes, pitchforks, cast-iron plows, and stoves. They gained a reputation for skill and reliability, and in 1830 were awarded a contract for making hemp-dressing machines, which were required for cleaning the hemp and preparing the fiber for market, — a new industry then springing up. Some method of weighing rough hemp by the wagonload was sorely needed. This led to an investigation of the principle of levers as combined in weighing machines, and resulted in the invention and perfection of the platform scale by Thaddæus Fairbanks. What was started as a mere

incident of a comparatively small business grew into an extensive commerce in an article that set the standard for the world.

An equally humble beginning was that made by Jacob Estey in 1846, when he commenced to make musical instruments, and drove about the country selling them from his own wagon. His business also grew into the largest one of its kind in the world, — the Estey Organ Works.



BIRTHPLACE OF CHESTER A. ARTHUR, 1830,
AT FAIRFIELD

In this period our three great quarrying industries were put on a firm foundation. The beginning of marble quarrying has been mentioned in an earlier period; it had an extensive

growth before the Civil War. Granite quarrying was begun about the time of the War of 1812, but did not greatly develop until after the Civil War. The first slate quarry opened in the state was at Fairhaven, where work began in 1839. Some eight years later roofing slate began to be made, and the industry has maintained considerable magnitude ever since.

In this period Vermont enterprise extended into other fields of business. Some of the most honored fiduciary institutions of the state began their existence before

the middle of the last century. Banks were incorporated, and fire and life insurance companies were established. The Vermont Mutual dates from 1827, the National Life from 1848.

Vermont inventiveness deserves a tribute all the more since it has not always exacted tribute or recognition. Morey's invention of the steamboat has already been mentioned. But the use of electricity as a moving principle in machinery

was demonstrated by Thomas Davenport to be practicable half a century before the world was ready for the discovery. The electric motor, the electric telegraph, the electric locomotive, and the electric piano were products of his brain. Professor Alonzo Jackman of Nor-



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

wich University conceived the feasibility of the submarine cable in 1842. Phineas Bailey of Chelsea devised a phonetic method of shorthand in 1819 — eighteen years before Pitman's. The six-shooting revolver was invented at Brattleboro fourteen years before Colt's weapon was made. Last but not least in its beneficent influence comes the modern cook stove, the creation of P. P. Stewart of Pawlet.

These inventions, like the new order of manufacturing establishments, were not for local needs. They appealed

for wider application. Thanks to developed transportation and the rapid transmission of news, Vermont had got in touch with wider needs ; she had gone out to seek the markets of the world.

E. Education

The work of education in the state went on quietly, unobtrusively, attracting no great attention, heralding no startling results; yet there were men here who were in a sense educational prophets, for they laid the foundation in a humble, inconspicuous way for some of the most important developments of our American educational ideals. Transition in educational aims and methods consisted of development rather than change up to the time of the Civil War.

The results of this work may be briefly summed up as follows: The beginning of some educational system for the state, including supervision ; the training of teachers; the opening of special schools for women; and the growth of educational institutions, especially academies, colleges, and military schools. Not all these are due to public or state enterprise. Indeed, in such matters, the work of making a beginning, as well as the conception of the ideals, falls often to the lot of those who are full of service for others, whose vision pierces the future, and whose hopes are reënforced by invincible confidence. That is, they are teachers in the real sense of the word.

At first, although the fathers of the state laid the foundations for a broad, comprehensive educational system, there was little done to perfect such a system in

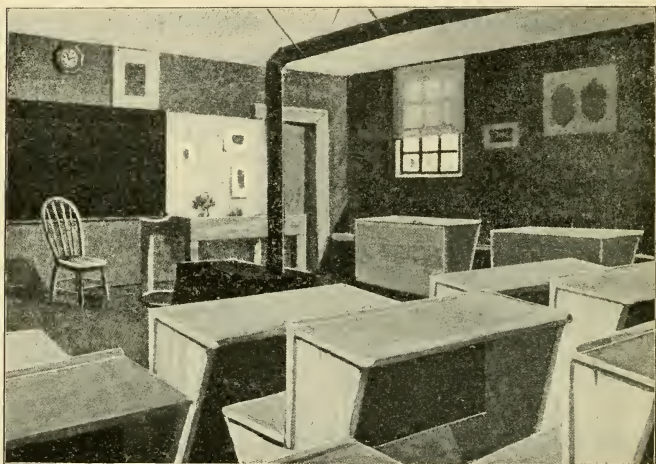
its details. The separate districts had their own way, secured their own teachers, and paid them at the end of the term without supervision or oversight by town or state or any outside authority. The inevitable result of such a method, or lack of method, was that there were no guaranties of competent instruction, because there was no standard of requirements put upon the teachers; and no guaranties of equal advantages to the different schools, because there was no efficient supervision. Some schools might be good, others poor, others very poor.



A TYPE OF THE "OLD RED SCHOOLHOUSE"

The effort to inaugurate a system began to bear fruit about 1827, when it was proposed that a board of commissioners be appointed to collect and disseminate educational information, and that licenses be required of teachers. Both recommendations were adopted for a few years. Then, in 1845, another effort was made to put the teaching force of the state on a higher level. The plan of licenses was permanently adopted; schools

were put under the supervision of town and county superintendents; and a state superintendent of education was annually appointed. In a few years the county superintendents were discontinued, and in 1851 the state superintendent ceased to be appointed. Five years later the state board of education was created.



INTERIOR OF THE "OLD RED SCHOOLHOUSE"

These efforts were tentative, and not altogether successful; yet a beginning had been made which was some approach to a system of state control.

In 1823 Samuel R. Hall, a home missionary and pastor of the Congregational Church at Concord, in Essex County, established a seminary for the training of teachers. It was incorporated by the legislature the same fall. In 1825 it was reincorporated under the name of the Essex County Grammar School. Teachers' classes

were formed, and a special course of study was arranged. In 1829 "Father" Hall published a volume of lectures on school keeping, "the first attempt of the kind on the Western Continent." The work ran through several editions. Ten thousand copies were sold to the state of New York and distributed through the school districts of that state. Mr. Hall also introduced the use of the blackboard into schools, organized the American Institute of Instruction, and was for a time principal of Andover Academy.

The Middlebury Female Seminary, which had been established in 1800, the same year as the college, was taken charge of in 1807 by Miss Emma Hart, who later became Mrs. Willard, the founder of Troy Female Seminary, which set a high standard for the education of women. A few years later, in 1814, she opened a school at her own home.



HON. GEORGE F. EDMUNDS

The State Teachers' Association was organized in 1850; endowed libraries began to appear; some of the schools of academic grade were founded which have lasted on, doing good work to the present time; the work of the colleges went on nobly. Among the graduates of Middlebury College were young men who were destined to make educators, authors, scholars, statesmen, and college presidents. The University of Vermont

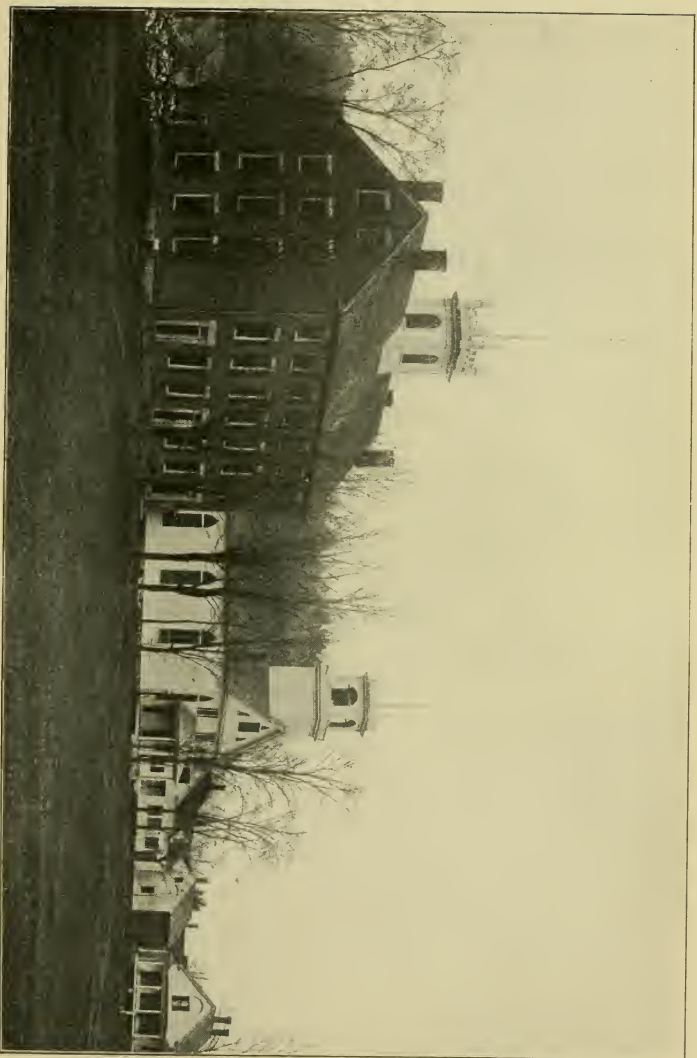
began to send forth youth who were to fill offices of state, — judges of higher courts, members of Congress, governors of Vermont, and even one Vice-President, — besides college presidents and many college and seminary instructors. Norwich University, the oldest military college in this country with the exception of West Point, was established in 1820. Its graduates served in the second Seminole War, and have served in every subsequent war of the country. No less than two hundred and seventy-three commissioned officers from this institution served in the Mexican and Civil wars.



HON. JUSTIN S. MORRILL

Two men who long honored their state and the nation in the Senate chamber at Washington put themselves on record as champions of the cause of education in no narrow or mean sense. George F. Edmunds was the great exponent of a national university at Washington; Justin S. Morrill successfully labored for the establishment of agricultural colleges in all the states.

The congressional grant of 1860 to provide education in the agricultural and mechanical arts in every state in the Union was the most important single educational enactment ever passed in America. This act alone would be sufficient to perpetuate Senator Morrill's name as the author of what is destined to be the most practical, democratic, and beneficent educational work of this country.



THE OLD SEMINARY AND METHODIST CHURCH AT NEWBURY

The Seminary was built in 1833, the Church in 1829

THE IMPENDING CRISIS

While our state was thus passing through manifold and important changes, the United States had come to the worst experience that can ever face a government, — the storm and stress of a great civil war. When a country is attacked from without, its people flock together to support the common cause, and thus form a more compact and cohesive union within. But when a country begins to break up within, and envy, hatred, and strife fill the hearts of its people, woe be it! The saying is very old and very true that a house divided against itself shall not stand. This is the third time in the history of the state that we have had to stop in our study of its development to follow the consequences of war in which it has been involved by the course of national politics. The other two wars were wars to defend so-called rights from foreign aggression. This one is a war to preserve the Union from the disruptive forces which have long been acting within.

Since the early settlement of these American colonies the keeping of slaves had been a part of their history. There had been white slaves and black slaves, slaves in the North and slaves in the South. But white servitude had never been so prevalent as that of negroes, and the terms by which whites were bound to forced labor allowed them to work out their freedom in a given term of years. So white servitude outgrew itself in time. Not so with negro slavery. A black slave was a slave for life, and all his children. All children of the mother, too, were slaves, although the father might

be white. A drop of negro blood was like the mark of Cain, — it tainted the man for life.

Negro slavery, therefore, was self-perpetuating. It would last as long as the negro race endured. In the North, for climatic and economic reasons, black slavery had but a slight hold; but in the South all the conditions were favorable for it, and it became so strongly rooted in the social and economic order of things that it was not easily dislodged. The men who formed the Constitution of the United States should have prevented this. They saw slavery as a cloud on the horizon of national politics. It was a little cloud then, no larger than a man's hand, but it certainly should have needed no prophet Elijah to tell them this cloud would brew a storm of blood. They had written in their own Declaration that all men were created free and equal; they should have made that principle true to the very letter in their new State, if they believed it to be true for themselves.

Slave trading from Africa ceased to be legal; but smuggling of slaves began, and but one conviction ever occurred in the history of the country. When the importation from Africa fell off, the matter was in no wise helped; for in the northern tier of slaveholding states negroes were bred, taken to the South like droves of cattle, and like cattle sold at the auction block. So the thing went on, till men had vast estates in slaves and little else. A plantation was worth nothing without slaves to work it. Skilled slaves were worth hundreds of dollars each; and a Southern man could not see why his slaves — his sole support — should be taken from

him any more than a Northern man could have seen the justice of taking away his less valuable horses or cattle or sheep.

The larger the country grew the larger grew this question with it. It got into politics and saturated every public measure. Instead of settling it, the politicians temporized, procrastinated, and compromised. The issue grew and grew until it passed the point of any more compromises, and then war came.

CHAPTER XI

THE CIVIL WAR

I am desirous to learn your views as to the expediency of legislation in the Free States at the present time touching the affairs of the General Government and the action of certain Southern States. . . . Should the plans of the Secessionists in South Carolina and the cotton States be persevered in and culminate in the design to seize upon the National Capital, will it be prudent to delay a demonstration on the part of the Free States assuring the General Government of their united coöperation in putting down rebellion and sustaining the Constitution and the dignity of the United States Government? — *Extract from a letter of Governor Erastus Fairbanks to the governor of Connecticut in 1861.*

VERMONT'S STATUS ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION

The position of Vermont on the question of human slavery has never been equivocal. Her official expression on the matter was made in the very first article of her constitution in the following words:

No male person born in this country, or brought from over sea, ought to be holden by law to serve any person as a servant, slave, or apprentice, after he arrives to the age of twenty-one years, nor female in like manner, after she arrives to the age of eighteen years, unless they are bound by their own consent, after they arrive to such age, or bound by law for the payment of debts, damages, fines, costs, or the like.

Before the constitution had been distributed the officers of the new state began to interpret the spirit of this article; and from the time when Ebenezer Allen in 1778 freed the slave Dinah Mattis, who had been

taken among the prisoners of a raid near Ticonderoga, and gave her a certificate of her emancipation duly recorded in the office of the town clerk at Bennington, down to the President's call for troops, Vermont had stood stanchly for the freedom of man. In 1803 Judge Harrington of the Supreme Court said that a bill of sale from Almighty God was the necessary proof that one man could hold another as his slave.

In 1828 the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison was at Bennington, editing the *Journal of the Times*, which, although run primarily for campaign purposes in the political race of John Quincy Adams against Andrew Jackson for the presidency, showed unmistakably the trend of its editor's views on the slavery question. Garrison announced as one of the great objects of his life the emancipation of slaves. Clear and vehement were his utterances. "We are resolved to agitate this subject to the utmost," said Garrison; and he sent to Congress a petition signed by twenty-three hundred and fifty-two citizens of this state requesting Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The government of that district rested with Congress, and it was literally true that negroes were driven to market past the doors of the national capitol wherein sat the chosen apostles of American liberty; but the appeal was ahead of the times.

Public men in the state kept an anxious eye on the great lurid cloud of national politics. Time passed without bringing war, until in 1861 the governor of the state wrote to the governor of one of the neighboring states on the duty of the North in this issue. This

action of the chief executive of the state shows that he was fully abreast of the times and aware of the significance of the action of the South in this great crisis.

VERMONT'S PREPARATION FOR THE WAR

When President Lincoln issued his call for troops, Vermont presented no exception to the other Northern states in lack of adequate preparation for even the slightest military service. It seemed as if the entire North lay in a state of lethargy. Federal forts and arsenals had been appropriated by Southern militiamen; state after state had passed ordinances of secession; they even invaded the North and transferred one hundred and thirty thousand stand of arms from the heart of New England¹ to Southern depots, and no one lifted a finger to stop it.

After the War of 1812 military drills had been kept up for a time, after a fashion; but the martial spirit flagged before the tasks of peaceful industry, and after 1845 there was hardly a semblance of military organization left within the state. The state had given up making appropriations for the support of the militia. One by one the uniformed companies had disbanded, and June trainings became a jest and sport for the countryside.

From 1858 to 1860 public interest in the militia began to be aroused. By the close of the latter year there were several organized companies again in existence, nominally forming a brigade of four regiments. They

¹ From the United States Arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts.

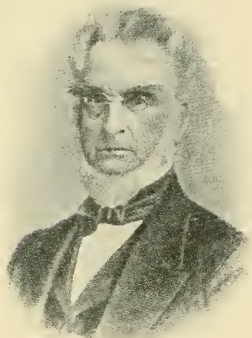
had as arms smooth-bore percussion and flintlock muskets! On New Year's day, 1861, the state possessed less than a thousand stand of arms, seven six-pound fieldpieces, five hundred and three Colt's pistols of no use whatever, and about a hundred tents. One regiment could be equipped with superannuated stuff.

On the 12th of April, that same year, the booming of cannon sounded through Charleston Harbor. Fort Sumter, one of the three or four military posts in the South which remained in federal possession, was fired upon. In two days the garrison surrendered. President Lincoln's call for troops was sent broadcast through the North, and war was on.

Now witness a change. No longer the North was sleeping. Mass meetings and flag raisings were so numerous that the newspapers could not find space to tell of them. From every public building flew the stars and stripes, and from private buildings, too, so long as flags could be obtained, or red, white, and blue bunting could be had for love or money. A public meeting was held at Burlington on the 18th of April, in the town hall; but hundreds were turned away from the doors, unable to find room within. Hon. George P. Marsh, then on the eve of his departure as United States minister to Italy, was the principal speaker. As he addressed the crowded hall, from one of the galleries were flung the broad folds of the stars and stripes; in an instant the audience were on their feet, in a contagion of enthusiasm and emotion, cheering, shouting, and crying like children.

Meantime men and money were offered all over the state. Private persons offered to the state sums ranging

all the way from one thousand to twenty thousand dollars each. Towns voted to raise money on their grand list, and subscribed to equip the militia and support the families of volunteers. Banks at Montpelier placed twenty-five thousand dollars each at the disposal of the governor to equip the troops; at Burlington and St. Albans they offered ten per cent of their capital, and more if needed. The students of the University of



ERASTUS FAIRBANKS
The First "War Governor" of
Vermont

Vermont and Middlebury College organized into companies and began to drill. Railroad and transportation companies offered their lines and boats for the gratuitous transportation of troops and munitions of war. Wherever companies were forming, the women labored to make uniforms for the recruits.

So much for public opinion. The officers of the state had not been idle. When the President called for troops Governor Fairbanks at once issued a proclamation announcing the outbreak of armed rebellion, called for a special session of the legislature, and for a regiment for immediate service.

We have seen that there was not a regiment in the state ready to march. But when the field officers of the militia met at Burlington on the 19th of the month to select the companies which should make up the first

regiment of Vermont volunteers it was reported that eight companies—from Bradford, Brandon, Burlington, Northfield, Rutland, St. Albans, Swanton, and Woodstock—were substantially filled and in efficient condition. Other companies were in partial readiness, and preparations were everywhere being made.

The special session of the legislature had been called for the 25th of April. The members were greeted at the capitol with the roar of the two brass field-pieces which Stark had taken from the Hessians at the battle of Bennington pouring out the national salute of thirty-four guns. Within twenty-four hours both houses had passed by unanimous vote an appropriation of one million dollars for war expenses. In forty-two hours from the time it met the legislature adjourned, with its work completed. It had passed acts providing for the organizing, arming, and equipping of six more regiments for two years' service—the government had called for only three months' troops—and had voted seven dollars per month pay in addition to the thirteen dollars offered by the government; had provided for the relief of the families of volunteers in cases of destitution, and had laid the first war tax,—ten cents on the dollar of the grand list.

This work was without precedent, and was equalled by the records of but few states. Vermont had voted for the war an appropriation of a larger sum than had been voted by any other state in proportion to the population, and had made provision for her sons and their families, which took from first to last four millions from

the treasury of the state, to say nothing of the other expenses of the war.

Commissions for the recruiting troops were issued by the governor on the 7th of May, and three days later the services of fifty full companies were offered to the government, — more than twice as many as it was then ready to accept.

VERMONT TROOPS IN SERVICE

The Civil War practically involved the conquest of the South. In point of military tactics, therefore, it had to be an offensive war on the part of the Union forces, and was, conversely, defensive on the part of the Southern army, with the exception of Lee's projected invasion of the North.

The Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River cut the field of action into three great sections. The Mississippi and its tributaries made important naval operations possible in the West, and there the Federal forces were almost uniformly successful. Not so in the East. The scene of conflict was here mainly in Virginia, which was for four years the battle ground of two armies: one — the Army of the Potomac — trying to defend Washington, conquer Virginia, and capture Richmond; the other — the Army of Northern Virginia — trying to defend Richmond and Virginia, attack Washington, and invade Maryland and Pennsylvania.

It was on this ground, in the region around and between the two capitals, Washington and Richmond, where the fighting came thick and fast, that the

Vermont troops rendered the heaviest part of their service in the Army of the Potomac.

The First Regiment was ordered at once into service; for, said General Scott, "I want your Vermont regiments, all of them. I have not forgotten the Vermont men on the Niagara frontier." So they went forward. Their term of enlistment expired in August of the same year, for it was not anticipated that the war would be of long duration, and the President's call was for only three months' service. But their service did not end; for when the period of this regiment's enlistment expired five out of every six of its rank and file reënlisted; the field, staff, and line officers returned to the service almost to a man; and no less than one hundred and sixty-one of its members became officers in Vermont regiments and batteries which were afterward organized.

In the fall of 1861 the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth regiments were formed into the Vermont Brigade, as it was then called; and later, when a second brigade was formed of regiments subsequently enlisted, it was known as the First Vermont Brigade, or the "Old Brigade." It will be absolutely impossible to follow the history of these troops in all their service. Indeed it would tax our limits to tell the history of any one regiment. For instance, Benedict, in his history, *Vermont in the Civil War*, which is our authority for this period, says of the Second Regiment:

"It had a share in almost every battle fought by the Army of the Potomac, from the first Bull Run to the surrender of Lee; and its quality as a fighting regiment is indicated by the fact that

its list of killed and wounded in action numbered no less than seven hundred and fifty-one, or forty per cent of its aggregate of eighteen hundred and fifty-eight officers and men ; while its ratio of killed and mortally wounded was more than eight times the general ratio of killed and mortally wounded in the Union army.

In March, 1862, McClellan, then in command of the Army of the Potomac, began what is known as the Peninsular campaign, a plan to advance on Richmond, the Confederate capital, from the east. He was slow in moving, and found the Confederates ready for him, fortified at every point. By the end of May he had succeeded in getting within ten miles of Richmond ; but Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson attacked him so persistently that he decided to withdraw, and then they continued hammering away at him during the seven days' retreat. This campaign gave the Vermont troops plenty of service. They took part in engagements at Lee's Mill, Williamsburg, Golding's Farm, Savage's Station, and White Oak Swamp.

The battle of Lee's Mill was one of the bloodiest in proportion to numbers in which our troops took part during the war. The first assault on the enemy's works was made by the Third Vermont Regiment, four companies of which, led by Captain Samuel E. Pingree (later a governor of the state), made a daring dash across Warwick Creek, assaulting and carrying the rifle pits of the enemy.

After McClellan had decided to abandon the siege of Richmond and to retreat, the Vermont troops once more rendered brilliant service in the battle of Savage's Station. The importance of this action becomes apparent

when we learn that the success of McClellan's retreat depended first of all on getting an army of one hundred and fifteen thousand men, with an immense army train of five thousand wagons, through the White Oak Swamp. This great natural barrier stretched half way across the peninsula south of Richmond, squarely across his line of retreat, and was passable only through one narrow way. The stand of the rear guard, therefore, at Savage's Station was, as Benedict says, "a notable passage in the history of the Peninsular campaign, and the battle will ever be memorable to Vermonters as that in which one of our regiments, the Fifth, suffered the greatest loss in killed and wounded ever sustained by a Vermont regiment in action."

The Fifth Regiment had orders to advance through the woods in front of them. A regiment of Union troops recently recruited had thrown themselves on the ground in the woods and refused to advance. They were under fire for the first time. The men of the Fifth Vermont walked over them and marched on. "I remember as if it were yesterday," said one of the sergeants, "the way we tramped over that line of cringing men, cursing them roundly for their cowardice." The enemy's battery was raking the woods with a terrible fire, but the regiment went on into the open field. They kept on till they met the enemy, made a bayonet charge, then halted and opened fire on the infantry line across the hollow in front of them.

Meanwhile they were themselves exposed to the fire of two regiments, a battery of grape and canister, and a raking cross fire of musketry from the edge of the woods

to their left. In twenty minutes every other man in line had been killed or wounded. And yet the regiment held its position, silenced the enemy in front, and did not go back until hours afterward, when it was ordered to the rear with the brigade. The men had sixty rounds of cartridges and used them all, taking the guns of their fallen comrades when their own became heated. The surgeon who visited the field the next day said in a letter: "Thirty men of the Fifth Vermont were found lying side by side, dressed in as perfect a line as for a dress parade, who were all stricken down by one discharge of grape and canister from the enemy's battery." One company had three commissioned officers and fifty-six men in line; seven came out unharmed. Of the rest, twenty-five were killed or died of their wounds.

The second eastern campaign of 1862 — the second Bull Run campaign — resulted in the Union army being driven back toward Washington and the Confederates being emboldened to carry the war into the North. Then came the storming of Crampton's Gap and the battle of Antietam, and more good work by the Vermont troops.

The Fourth Regiment especially distinguished itself at the storming of Crampton's Gap, where on September 14 it captured, on the crest of the mountain, a Confederate major, five line officers, one hundred and fifteen men, and the colors of the Sixteenth Virginia. These colors are preserved among the trophies of the War Department at Washington.

A war correspondent of the *New York Tribune* reported the following from Antietam:

Smith was ordered to retake the cornfields and woods which had been so hotly contested. It was done in the handsomest style. His Maine and Vermont regiments and the rest went forward on the run, and, cheering as they went, swept like an avalanche through the cornfield, fell upon the woods, cleared them in ten minutes, and held them. They were not again retaken. The field and its ghastly harvest remained with us. Four times it had been lost and won. The dead are strewn so thickly that as you ride over it you cannot guide your horse's steps too carefully.

After the bloody battle of Antietam McClellan was superseded in command by General Burnside. The Confederates fortified Marye's Heights, behind Fredericksburg, on the south side of the Rappahannock. The position was almost impregnable, but Burnside attacked it, only to be repulsed with a terrible loss. "Fighting Joe" Hooker was then placed in command of the Army of the Potomac.

From the middle of December, 1862, to the end of the following April the Army of the Potomac remained quietly in camp opposite Fredericksburg, and the Confederates retained their strong position on Marye's Heights. At length Hooker began to operate. In the storming of Marye's Heights, May 3, 1863, at the second battle of Fredericksburg, the Vermont brigade accomplished more than ever before to establish its reputation as a fighting brigade. A New Jersey officer describes the taking of Marye's Heights as follows:

As we approached the foot of the hills, we could see the rebel gunners limbering up their pieces. The Second Vermont, which had got a little ahead of us, were now moving up the steep slope on our right, in beautiful line; and presently we also commenced the ascent. A terrible volley thinned the ranks of the Vermonters;

but they pressed on, and the enemy began to give way. As we reached the top of the hill we could see the flying foe, crossing through a gully and ascending the rise of ground opposite. The terrible Fredericksburg Heights had been captured.

The heights were carried so rapidly that the Confederate general, Jubal Early, who had the greater part of his division within supporting distance, could not reënforce his lines in time to save them. Benedict says : "No similar assault on the Southern side during the war equaled this in brilliancy and success ; and in these respects it was surpassed on the Northern side, if at all, only by Lookout Mountain and the final storming of Lee's lines at Petersburg." The regiments moved with the precision of ordinary drill, none rushing, none lagging. Nevertheless Lee outgeneraled Hooker at Chancellorsville and in four days dealt the Army of the Potomac a terrible blow.

He again decided to invade the North. Then came the campaign which led to Gettysburg. Lee crossed the Potomac and entered Pennsylvania. The Army of the Potomac kept between him and Washington. Hooker was succeeded by General Meade. On July 1, 1863, the armies came together at the little village of Gettysburg, and the Union troops being driven back in a bloody battle to a strong position known as Cemetery Ridge, Meade determined to fight the decisive battle there.

On the next day the Confederates attacked vigorously, drove back the Union left, and secured a position which threatened the whole line. Meantime the Sixth Corps, which had been lying quietly at Manchester, some thirty

miles from the scene of battle, was rushed over the Baltimore and Gettysburg turnpike in the most rapid and exciting march in its history. The fate of the army and indeed the outcome of the whole war might depend on the presence of these troops. It was then that General Sedgwick gave his famous order: "Put the Vermonters ahead and keep the column well closed up." They had a reputation for marching as well as for fighting.

At General Meade's headquarters, about six o'clock that evening, there stood an anxious group of officers. The Confederates had been forcing back the Union left, and the sound of battle grew louder and nearer. Presently a cloud of dust appeared down the Baltimore pike. What did that cloud hide? Had the enemy gained the rear? As the officers stood looking through their field glasses, one said: "It is not cavalry, but infantry. There is the flag. It is the Sixth Corps."

During the next day and the final day of the battle the Second Vermont Brigade won laurels on the left center. The Confederates were driven out of one position on the extreme right of the Union lines, and every attack was repelled. Lee determined to make one more assault, and sent Pickett with fifteen thousand men against the Union center. They were repulsed with awful loss. The fate of the charge was sealed by the flank attack of Stannard's brigade. Veazey and the Sixteenth Vermont Regiment charged upon and dispersed two Confederate brigades under Wilcox. This action closed the battle of Gettysburg. Lee's invasion of the North was ended.

General Grant, who had been winning brilliant successes in the Western campaign, was now placed in entire charge of the Union armies; Sherman began his famous march to the sea; Thomas destroyed Hood's army; and Grant, with the Army of the Potomac, took up again in May, 1864, the task of destroying Lee's army and taking Richmond.

Then followed the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg. A thousand Vermonters were killed or wounded in the first day's fighting of the Wilderness campaign. Two hundred fell the second day. The Third Regiment went into the first day's fight with about five hundred muskets, and in the next month's fighting lost two out of every three men.

The Fourth Regiment fought at Spottsylvania in the front line. At Cold Harbor it was again engaged. In the movement to Petersburg it suffered the greatest loss by capture that it ever experienced. Out of two hundred men taken to the skirmish line, but sixty-seven answered to the roll call the next morning, with three commissioned officers. Nearly one half of the captured men died in Confederate prisons. The colors were saved. Although it was only one of thirty-two infantry brigades, the Vermont brigade suffered one tenth of the entire loss of Grant's army in killed and wounded in the Wilderness campaign.

Lee forestalled Grant and occupied Petersburg. Grant sat down to a nine months' siege before it. Lee stood the pressure until it became intolerable; then he sent one of his ablest generals, Jubal Early, with a detachment to penetrate the Shenandoah Valley and seize

Washington, thinking that this might divert Grant. Grant gave Sheridan forty thousand men and sent him after Early. Early reached Washington, but was just a little too late to seize it; while Sheridan on this Shenandoah campaign drove the Confederates back, destroyed everything eatable that could be found to support an army, and rejoined Grant at Petersburg in November, 1864.

In this campaign of the Shenandoah Valley, Vermont troops did good service; they shared in the engagements at Charlestown, the Opequan, Winchester, Fishers Hill, and Cedar Creek. The battle of the Opequan restored the lower valley to Union control, put an end to invasions in Maryland and to raids against the national capital. At Cedar Creek what looked like a Confederate victory was turned into a complete rout, upon Sheridan's appearance after his famous ride of twenty miles from Winchester. Out of a total of forty-eight guns captured, the First Vermont Cavalry brought in twenty-three.

Then back to Petersburg. As soon as it was possible to move in the following spring the Northern soldiers began the final campaign of the war. The South was a mere shell. Sherman had moved at will; and not an important seaport remained in Southern hands. Grant, rejoined by Sheridan, made it impossible for Lee to hold Richmond any longer. The South had put every fighting man and every dollar she had into the war. Lee's army dwindled as his men began to despair of their cause. When Sheridan on his way to Jetersville asked, "Where are the rebels?" an old colored patriarch, leaning on the fence, replied, "Siftin' souf, sah; siftin' souf," with a smile and wave of his hand. The Union army

outnumbered the Confederate two to one. Lee tried to escape by the valley of the Appomattox to the mountains, hoping possibly to unite with Johnston's forces. But at last the Northern soldiers were too quick for him. He was caught and cornered with the van of his starving army at the Appomattox Courthouse. He surrendered, and the war came to an end.

In the operations which led to the end Vermont troops again had their share. The Second Regiment once more distinguished itself in the final assault on the defenses of Petersburg, with many instances of individual gallantry. A portion of the Ninth Regiment was the first to carry a Union flag into the rebel capital. After the fall of Richmond the Second Regiment joined in the pursuit of Lee, and in a skirmish with the rear guard on the evening of April 6 fired the last shot discharged in action by the Sixth Corps. The Third Regiment did its last fighting in the final assault on Petersburg. This regiment lost two hundred officers and men who were killed or died of wounds received in action, and many more died of disease or starvation while prisoners in the enemy's hands. The Fifth Regiment led the storming column when the Sixth Corps broke through the enemy's lines in front of Petersburg on the 2d of April, and first planted the colors of the Sixth Corps on the enemy's works. The final statement of the regiment shows that of all the Vermont regiments it lost the largest percentage of men killed and mortally wounded in action.

The old brigade was engaged in thirty battles. Not one of its colors fell into hostile hands. General McMahon

said: "No body of troops in or out of the Army of the Potomac made their record more gallantly, sustained it more heroically, or wore their honors more modestly. The Vermont brigade were the model and type of the volunteer soldier."

Besides the seventeen infantry regiments which Vermont sent from first to last into the war, she sent also three batteries of light artillery, one regiment of cavalry,



THE VERMONT SOLDIERS' HOME AT BENNINGTON

and a larger proportion of sharpshooters than any other state, not to speak of the Vermont men who served as staff officers, soldiers in the regular army, and as privates and commissioned officers in other states.

Her cavalry regiment was raised in the fall of 1861, and was the first full regiment of mounted men raised in New England. It was the largest regiment but one sent from Vermont, comprising from first to last twenty-two hundred and ninety-seven officers and men. It had

a notable history. Previous Vermont regiments had been raised by state authority; the cavalry was raised under the direct authority of the United States. The regiment served in the Shenandoah Valley, at Gettysburg, in the Wilderness campaign, and under Sheridan.

The organization of United States sharpshooters was an attempt to meet the marksmen of the Confederates with equally skilled shots armed with long-range rifles. They were a distinct branch of the service. There



THE ST. ALBANS RAID
Demanding Funds at the Bank

were two such regiments raised in the first year of the war, of whose total number this state furnished over one sixth. They shared in almost every battle fought by the

Army of the Potomac, and made a brilliant record, second to that of no other equal number of enlisted men.

Some of Vermont's sons occupied important positions as staff officers. To them fell the duties of keeping the troops supplied, of giving the soldiers medical and surgical care, of keeping regimental and brigade and corps accounts and records, of preparing and transmitting orders in camp and field.

Vermont had a higher percentage of men killed in action than any other state, while the percentage of the

old brigade was higher even than that of the state. The five original regiments of this brigade gave 4747 officers and men to the service of the government; 4070 more were added to these during the war, making an aggregate of 8817 officers and men. The total wounded was 2328; 774 died in Union hospitals; 578 were killed in action; 395 died of wounds; 135 died in Confederate prisons.

Vermont sent to the war ten men out of every hundred of her population. She was credited with nearly thirty-four thousand volunteers, out of a total enrollment of thirty-seven thousand men liable to do militia duty. None of her



THE ST. ALBANS RAID
Seizing Horses on Main Street

colors were ever yielded in action, while in proportion to total numbers her troops took more rebel colors than those of any other state. In 1867 General Sheridan, in the State House at Montpelier, said: "When I saw these old flags I thought I ought to say as much as this: I have never commanded troops in whom I had more confidence than I had in Vermont troops, and I do not know but I can say that I never commanded troops in whom I had as much confidence as those of this gallant state."

With one more incident we will close the story of the war. On the 19th of October, 1864, a party of strangers came into the village of St. Albans in small squads, scattered about the place, and made a secret and simultaneous entrance at the three banks. They closed the doors of the banks, made the inmates prisoners, relieved the institutions of their available assets, and made their escape, firing pistols promiscuously. They also attempted to set fire to some of the buildings.



THE ST. ALBANS RAID
The Burning of Sheldon Bridge

Excitement was intense; it was feared that the party was but an advance guard of a larger invading host. At Montpelier, where the legislature was in session, members gallantly volunteered to serve in

military capacity to repel the invaders. But no invasion came. A party was hastily formed, and started after the raiders, following them into Canada. Two hundred thousand dollars had been taken from the banks. Fourteen of the men were taken, and eighty-six thousand dollars were recovered. After this affair two companies of cavalry were raised to protect the northern frontier from further similar invasion. The companies were stationed at St. Albans, and did guard duty for about six months.

CHAPTER XII

FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE SPANISH WAR

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

Vermont shared in the general disturbances caused by the war, and it was many years before the direct traces of the great national calamity disappeared. Business cannot cease when war is in progress, because the same number of people have to be provided for, whether they are fighting or working. They must eat, be clothed and sheltered. Since the armies took so many able-bodied men from the field of industry, it naturally followed that the products of labor grew scarcer and the prices of it rose. And as prices of merchandise rose the correspondingly greater value of the labor of the workers became apparent and wages rose.

Farm values went up along with the general rise in prices, for the products of the farms are among the first necessities of life. Stock, cereals, wool, and other farm produce went rapidly up to nearly or quite double the former prices. Some farmers took advantage of the unusual conditions and held their products till they reaped large profits; others tried the same experiment and held them too long, until prices went tumbling down again. The wages paid to farm laborers advanced, and eventually the prices of farms themselves.

Along with the derangement of values went financial derangement. The paper money which was issued to tide the government along depreciated, and there was as high a premium on gold as on anything else. The high scale of prices could not be maintained from the very nature of the case, because it was due to causes which were not going to operate continuously. The war ended, and in the years which followed, until prices had reached their normal level, there was a decline of values which operated with hardship on many. Men who thought that war brought them wealth found that peace brought them poverty. Young men returning from the war, and buying farms at the inflated prices which prevailed, soon found that they must pay for them with the proceeds of labor, farm animals, and crops which were steadily falling, and that when paid for the farm itself would be worth only a fraction of the purchase price. Such men often lost everything they had.

Many of the returning veterans sought fortunes in the West rather than attempt to take up life again in the old communities. Little had been saved from their pay during the war; many had families at home to be supported. Middle-aged men found themselves forced to begin life anew. Some were too shattered in health to be equal to the task. Some took up soldiers' rights in western lands and adapted their agricultural knowledge to new conditions. Others went back to the old farms. Still others engaged in manufacturing and business.

The westward movement, thus stimulated by the war, remained active for another reason. So long as our

interests remained agricultural, any increase in population beyond a certain limit was bound to overflow, because the agricultural density of population is not yet great in America. That is, when people live on farms they are not so thickly placed as when they live in cities or villages. We have seen that Vermont is a state of farms and small villages rather than of great centers of population. Until manufactures increase sufficiently to support large villages and cities, we must expect to find the population remaining about stationary and the natural increase of our families going away to other parts.

If you look at the census returns you will see the extent to which this has been the case. From 1860 to 1870 the state showed a very slight increase in population; from 1870 to 1880 it dropped still lower, being only one half of one per cent; while from 1880 to 1890 it reached low ebb, there being practically no gain in population for the decade. From 1890 to 1900 it began to increase very slowly. From now on but little gain can be expected. For a good many years the agricultural population is not likely to reach a much greater density; while the additional number of people who can be supported by new industries is so slight in comparison with the total population of the state that it will not be likely to have a large percentage of increase. This does not mean that Vermonters are dying out; it means that they are carrying their influence into other communities, where they take up the battle for right and the struggle for good citizenship and good order.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY

Any one can ascertain the extent and the diversity of the industries of Vermont by looking into the last census report. It will be the function of this section, therefore, instead of attempting to describe the variety which modern life has imposed upon our industrial arts, to point out some less apparent features in the development of our most important industries, separately and in allied groups.

According to the census of 1900 the ten leading industries of the state are : factory production of butter, cheese, and condensed milk ; flouring and gristmilling ; foundry and machine-shop work ; the manufacture of hosiery and knit goods ; the production of lumber and timber ; planing-mill manufactures, including sashes, doors, and blinds ; marble and stone work ; the manufacture of monuments and tombstones ; the making of wood pulp and paper ; and wool manufactures.

Now, if you will observe this list, you will notice that certain of these industries — and they are the most important ones — deal with the natural products of the farms and the forests.

The milling of cereals had not changed much, but the dairying industry has been profoundly modified by the development of the creamery system. It is a fine specimen of intelligent coöperation. The factory turns out a uniform product, secures a market for it, does the accounting, and settles with the farmer, relieving both him and his wife of a great deal of bother, and securing for the consumer a better article. It is because it

makes both the dairyman and the user of dairy products better off than this industry has had its rapid growth. The development of fast freight and express facilities has allowed the business to diversify, and the sending of milk, of pasteurized milk, and of cream daily to the cities has grown up. Condensed-milk factories take a portion of the product of the dairies; while other farm products like corn and fruit find in some sections of the state a near-by market in the canning factories.

In a similar way a great change has come over the industries which deal with the forest resources of the state. The manufacturing of sashes, doors, blinds, rough and dressed lumber has long been a standard occupation of our mills; but the manufacture of paper from wood pulp has caused a tremendous growth of the pulp and paper business in the state since the Civil War. A large proportion of the spruce of New England now goes into wood pulp. Great plants with costly machinery are established, and an interest in practical forestry is aroused with a view to the permanence of the business; for the great cost of such plants does not allow their abandonment in a few years, like an old-fashioned, inexpensive sawmill. Farsighted lumbermen, therefore, are attempting plans of systematic lumbering which will preserve their ranges as productive estates of increasing value, instead of leaving them, at the end of a few years, abandoned wildernesses.

There is an increasing tendency in the lumber business, as in other enterprises, to do more finished work near the place where the raw material is furnished. This is partly because it is expensive to pay freights on

waste which is to be taken off in dressing lumber, and partly because it is less expensive to run business in the country than in the city. Large concerns, therefore, engaged in the making of boxes, tubs, piano backs, piano sounding-boards, etc., have located in country towns as near as possible to their source of supply, either local or Canadian or both. Bobbin factories in many places have arisen to make use of the hard wood which in earlier days of lumbering was often left uncut in the forest on account of the greater expense of manufacturing and marketing it.

If you will look again at the list of leading industries, you will see that a series of them starts with the work which men have taken out of the hands of women. We are apt to think that woman is getting very modern and mannish in occupation, but is it not true that man has entered her field and left her much less of the old kind of work to do? He invaded the kitchen and took the spinning wheel, the loom, and the dye pot. Presently he could be seen building a factory, and when it was done hosiery was made there by machinery. Then another factory went up, and there shirts, underclothes, and women's garments were triumphantly evolved. But the man had not finished: not only would he make his own shirts, but he would wash them also. So the modern steam laundry was installed, and presently the woman found her own dry goods going the way of the man's. The domestic laundry was invaded.

But employment for women did not cease, for, although they may no longer do work in the old-fashioned way, they may do it with the most improved machinery.

You will find establishments for making hosiery, knit goods, and women's apparel in the state for much the same reason that mills were located in the country ; girls can be hired for lower wages because they can live more cheaply, and in the country their work can be done under cleaner and more wholesome conditions than in the crowded shops of the city. Some of these shops are models of their kind.

Turning once more to our list of industries, we find that the most important ones which remain for analysis rest upon the geological wealth of the state. Little iron is now locally produced. The three great geological industries are connected with the production of slate, marble, and granite. The slate industry, which has apparently changed but little in recent years, really illustrates the development of modern conditions as well as the other two ; for this is true, that although the slate business is not on the increase, its present status depends as much on the foreign demand and market as upon home consumption, — a condition which could not have prevailed so very many years ago. Now exports of slate are made to South Africa, London, Bristol, and Newcastle.

The marble business has grown for over a century, until Vermont has become the marble center of the world ; for not only does she produce the larger part of all that is produced in the United States, but she exports to the uttermost parts of the earth, — to India, China, Japan, and Australia. In 1898 Georgia and Tennessee produced more marble sold in the rough than Vermont did ; but this state furnished more art stone, nearly ten

times as much monumental stone, and more than six times as much of both as all other states put together. Vermont, in fact, has supplied the need of the country for ornamental and building marble more largely than all other states combined. In recent years the sales of Vermont marble for building purposes have shown a notable increase. It is important that the coarser grades of stone can be thus used, since much of the product of a quarry would be wasted if only the monumental grades could be utilized, and some quarries could not be profitably worked at all on that basis.

The expense of opening and working a marble quarry is so large that only a firm with a large capital can undertake it. Most of the marble used in the country is produced by a few great concerns. This might well be remembered by those who decry the concentration of capital, for one of the greatest industries of our state is made possible only by such concentration. The Vermont Marble Company, which was built up by Redfield Proctor, is the largest marble-producing company in the world.

The increase in this business, therefore, is an increase not in the number of separate establishments but in their output, an increase amounting in the last decade to nearly fifty per cent.

When we turn to the granite business we notice quite a different set of conditions. This business has had an even more rapid growth since the Civil War than the marble business; but while the marble industry is confined to a limited area, the granite industry is distributed throughout the state. There are quarries at East Dorset,

South Dorset, Rutland, Proctor, West Rutland, Bristol, Burlington, Pittsford, Brandon, Middlebury, Williamstown, Woodbury, Dummerston, Kirby, South Calais, Ricker's Mills, Beebe Plain, Groton, to say nothing of the large beds practically untouched which will furnish an unlimited supply for years to come. Vermont has enough available granite to supply the world.

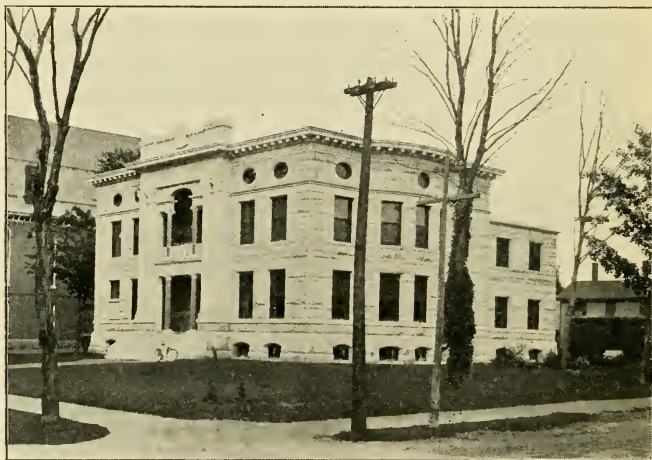
This granite is of the best quality, fine grained, compact, strong, of very even texture and color, and is found in all shades of gray. No red granite is produced. Great wealth has come into the state from these hitherto barren ledges. The capital invested in conducting the business is widely distributed, and there are many companies engaged. Within comparatively few years Barre has grown from a little village into a granite city. The state is rapidly becoming the granite center of the world. In the production of finer kinds of monumental work Vermont already leads, producing more than twice the quantity yielded by any other state. Sales of cut granite for building purposes are larger in some other states, although of this kind of stone Vermont sells more in the rough. Very little of her granite is used as paving stones. There are many surface quarries, and since the stone can be used from the start in the ledges, a small amount of capital is often sufficient to start a quarry.

EDUCATION

The educational work of the state has progressed, not with unbroken uniformity, but with commendable spirit and in the main with practical wisdom ; for Vermont has

arrived at the underlying principle of an efficient public-school system, — state control. The cardinal points of the system are revealed in state requirements put upon the schools, in state aid furnished to the schools, and in the centralization of administrative machinery in the State Department of Education.

These three features reach all the parties primarily



THE KELLOGG-HUBBARD LIBRARY, MONTPELIER

connected with the schools ; that is, the towns which maintain the schools, the pupils who attend the schools, and the teachers who teach the schools. For example, in the matter of requirements : towns must maintain a school year of certain length in order to meet the requirements of legal schools ; compulsory attendance is required of the pupils ; and examination and certification is required of teachers.

In the same way the state aims to aid all connected with the public-school system. State funds are apportioned among the towns; it is directed that free textbooks be supplied by the towns to the pupils; and normal schools are maintained for the better training of teachers.

The centralization of the system is illustrated by the



THE NORMAN WILLIAMS LIBRARY, WOODSTOCK

requirement that reports of all schools be returned to the Department of Education; by the system of examination and certification of teachers; by the maintenance of the normal schools at Johnson, Castleton, and Randolph; by the teachers' institutes and summer schools; by circulars of information issued by the Department of Education; and by the general supervision exercised by the State Superintendent of Education. The county

examinations form a sort of bridge between the local and central systems.

These features of our educational system have not all come at once. They are the result of an evolution. The normal schools began their work in 1866. The office of state superintendent was revived in 1874.



MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, ST. JOHNSBURY

County examiners were provided for in 1890. The town system was established in 1892. So little by little the advance has been made. The result is that to-day hardly a state in the Union can show a more generous support of its schools than this state, in proportion to wealth or population ; that no state can show better schools or school buildings or appliances than can be shown in

places of corresponding size in this state; and that Vermont teachers are in demand in other states.

The town system has done more to secure equalization of school privileges than any other one measure. The normal schools are doing progressive work. The spirit and zeal of the teachers of the state are shown by the support they give to institutes and educational



THE MARK SKINNER LIBRARY, MANCHESTER

meetings. Popular feeling is indicated by the erection of better school buildings and the beautifying of school grounds. A few public kindergartens have been established and have met with favor.

The high schools are a feature in the school development of the last quarter of a century. The position they hold was formerly held by a smaller number of institutions of academic or grammar grade, dependent partly

on endowment but mostly on tuition,— such institutions, for example, as Burr and Burton Seminary, Vermont Academy at Saxtons River, Brattleboro Academy, St. Johnsbury Academy, Lyndon Institute, Brigham Academy at Bakersfield, Montpelier Seminary, Newbury Seminary, and the academies at Derby, Craftsbury, Brownington, Thetford, Barre, Peacham, and elsewhere.



THE BILLINGS LIBRARY, BURLINGTON

They did good work and some of them are yet strong institutions which fit well into the public-school system in their respective towns by filling the function of the high school which would otherwise be necessary. The schools at Castleton, Randolph, and Johnson became state normal schools in 1867. But the new institutions are high schools, not academies. High-school attendance has doubled in twenty years; and recent legislation has

placed free secondary education within reach of the aspiring youth of the state.

The growth of libraries and library facilities throughout the state is a most encouraging sign of the times. Many of the high schools have libraries, some possessing as many as four thousand volumes. The same is



THE ATHENÆUM, ST. JOHNSBURY

true of the normal schools. Other libraries have been established by bequests of individuals, and have permanent endowments and artistic buildings.

Of the colleges little need be said save that they have grown in their work, proving their worth, and that they have added to their buildings, equipment, courses of study, teaching staff, and number of students.

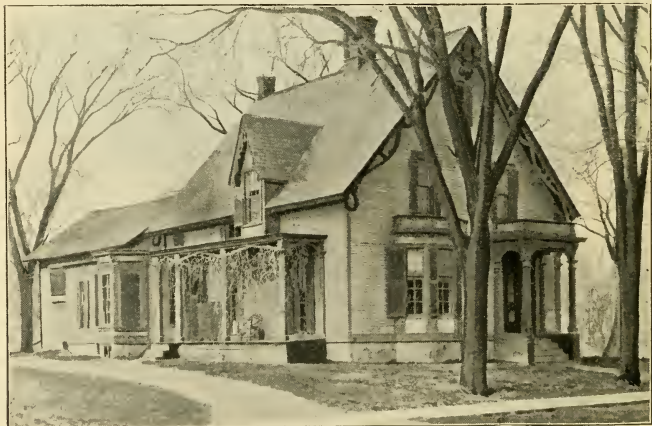
THE SPANISH WAR



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

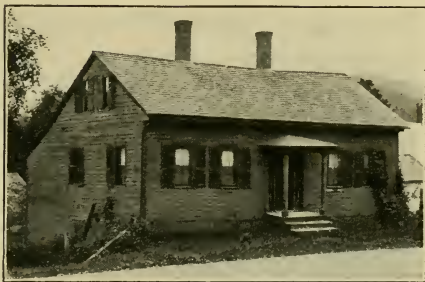
National politics once more involved us in war; but this time it was waged on foreign shores, not on our own, and was not so great a contest as to affect business and social conditions seriously. It would be a hazardous matter to pass judgment here on the merits of this war. It will be sufficient to call attention to the fact that in the

war two of Vermont's sons brought added distinction to themselves and to their state. To Commodore Dewey was due the credit of the victory of Manila Bay; to



BIRTHPLACE OF ADMIRAL DEWEY AT MONTPELIER

Captain Clark of the *Oregon* was due the credit of taking that wonderful mechanism, a modern war-ship, on a voyage of more than half the circumference of the globe, from the coast of California



REAR ADMIRAL C. E. CLARK'S BIRTHPLACE,
BRADFORD

around Cape Horn, to join the Atlantic squadron, a feat which was accomplished in a little more than two months,

without a rivet or a bolt or a gearing broken or out of place.

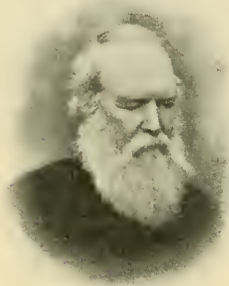


REAR ADMIRAL C. E. CLARK

Vermont statesmen have taken a leading and intelligent interest in trying to arrive at a broad and liberal solution of the vexed problems of administering our new possessions, and not a few of her sons have been called to take up active duty in the field of civil and educational service in the Philip-

pines in as truly a missionary enterprise as any that exists to-day.

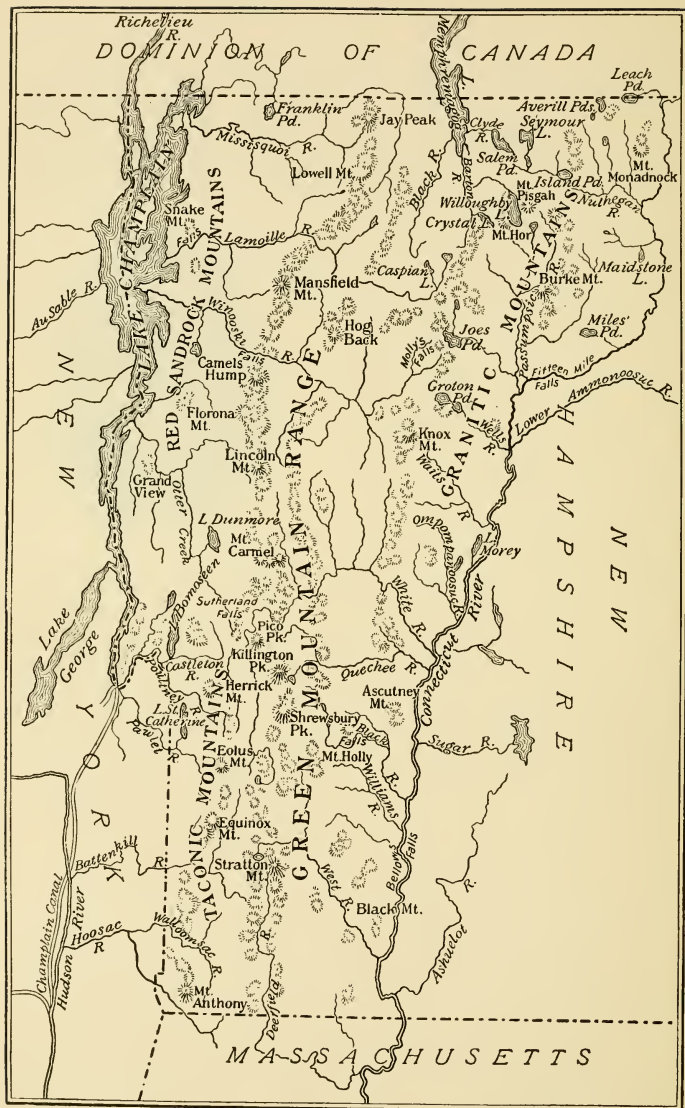
So here we leave the story of our state. More has been left unsaid than has been told ; but we have gained great glimpses here and there of audacious courage, sublime faith, magnificent statesmanship, true patriotism, and loyal devotion to duty.



ROWLAND E. ROBINSON
Vermont's Blind Author

In the comparatively brief period of our state's history we have seen reflected the wide range of human life and development from an existence the most simple and primitive to the civilization of the twentieth century. The best story and the greatest inspiration are the lives of the men and women themselves,—the plain, simple

people of the hills, whose characters stand out like great elemental forces as they moved through life, ever ready to take their chances with the hard things, ever responsive to the call of duty, strong, true, ardent, just, versatile, and independent.



GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF VERMONT

APPENDIX

PART I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEOLOGICAL NOTES

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES

VERMONT

Latitude, north, $42^{\circ} 44'$ to 45° .

Longitude, east from Washington, $3^{\circ} 35'$ to $5^{\circ} 29'$.

Length, $157\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Width at northern border, 90 miles.

Width at southern border, 41 miles.

Average width, $57\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Total area, 9565 square miles.¹

Water surface, 430 square miles.

Land area, 9135 square miles, or 5,846,400 acres.

Mountains

The surface of the state is thoroughly broken by hills, individual mountains, and mountain ranges. The configuration thus formed gives the state a diversified and picturesque scenery, which is enhanced by the beauty of the valleys and the numerous little streams, lakes, and ponds. The mountains of the state form four main divisions, which are known as the Green Mountains, the Taconic Mountains, the Granitic Mountains, and the Red Sandrock Mountains.

¹ Census 1900. The area of the state has been variously given by different authorities.

The Green Mountains form the principal mountain chain, and consist of a range which takes a northerly direction through the state for its entire length, a little to the west of the center. The highest peaks in the state belong to this range. Beginning at the north, the principal summits are as follows:

Jay Peak, 4018 feet.	Pico Peak, 3967 feet. ¹
Lowell Mountain.	Killington Peak, 4241 feet. ¹
Sterling Peak, 3700 feet.	Shrewsbury Peak, 3737 feet. ¹
Mt. Mansfield, 4364 feet.	Saltash Mountain, 3278 feet. ¹
Bone Mountain.	White's Hill, 2922 feet. ¹
Camel's Hump, 4088 feet.	Mt. Tabor, 3584 feet. ¹
Potato Hill, or Lincoln Mountain, 4078 feet.	Stratton Mountain.
Bread Loaf.	Somerset Mountain, 3605 feet. ¹
Moosalamoo.	Haystack (Searsburg), 3462 feet. ¹
Hogback, 2347 feet. ¹	Bald Mountain (Woodford).
	Prospect Mountain.

The Taconic Mountains are independent of the Green Mountain range and nearly parallel, in the southwestern part of the state, extending from the Massachusetts line as far north as Brandon. The principal summits are as follows:

Bird Mountain.	Equinox, 3872 feet.
Herrick Mountain, 2692 feet.	Minister's Hill.
Moose Horn Mountain.	Red Mountain.
Danby Mountain.	West Mountain.
Eolus.	Bald Mountain (Arlington).
Master's Mountain.	Spruce Peak.
Haystack (Pawlet).	Mt. Anthony, 2505 feet.
Bear Mountain.	Petersburg Mountain.
Seymour Peak.	

The Granitic Mountains lie in eastern Vermont. They do not form a range, although they extend for nearly the length of the state, but are disconnected, separate uplifts. The ascent to the

¹ United States Geological Survey. This survey has not been completed for the entire state. Heights of mountains not thus marked may be taken to be only approximately correct.

summit is not infrequently steeper on the southern than on the northern side. The most important elevations are the following :

Granite Hill.	Mt. Seneca.	Cobble Hill.
Mt. John.	Joe's Hill.	Millstone Hill.
Bear Hill.	Mack's Mountain.	Ascutney, 3320 feet.
Bluff Mountain.	Pidgeon Hill.	Black Mountain.
Mt. Pisgah.	Pine Mountain.	
Mt. Hor.	Knox Mountain.	

The Red Sandrock group is a series of uplifts in northwestern Vermont, lying in Addison, Chittenden, and Franklin counties. They are characterized by a gradual slope on the eastern side, and a more rugged and bold escarpment on the western. The formation is usually limestone or calcareous slate, capped with siliceous rock, "red sand rock," from which the mountains take their name. These elevations are :

Snake Mountain.	Mutton Hill.
Buck Mountain.	Pease Hill.
Bridgeman's Hill.	Sugar Loaf, or Mt. Philo.
Rice Hill, 2947 feet. ¹	Florona, 1035 feet.
Prospect Hill.	Shell House Mountain.
Snake Hill.	Mars Hill.
Cobble Hill (Milton).	

Rivers

The situation of the mountains determines, of course, the watersheds and the course of the streams. Since the principal watershed coincides with the range of the Green Mountains, the rivers on the eastern side of the state empty into the Connecticut River, after taking for the most part an easterly or southeasterly course from their sources among the hills. The Passumpsic and the Deerfield flow south. These rivers are, beginning at the north :

Nulhegan.	Ompompanoosuc.	Williams.
Passumpsic.	White.	West.
Waits.	Quechee.	Deerfield.
Wells.	Black.	

¹ United States Geological Survey. This survey has not been completed for the entire state. Heights of mountains not thus marked may be taken to be only approximately correct.

In the northern part of the state, in what is often known as "the Y of the Green Mountains," but really in the basin between the Granitic and the Green mountains, a smaller group of rivers rises and flows northward into Lake Memphremagog. These are the Clyde, the Barton, and the Black.

On the western side of the state, tributary to Lake Champlain, there is a smaller number of rivers larger than those on the eastern side, these being the Missisquoi, the Lamoille, the Winooski, the Otter Creek, the Poultney, and the Pawlet. The Battenkill and the Hoosac empty into the Hudson.

Lakes and Ponds

Although the Fish Commissioners' reports contain a list of the many lakes and ponds in the state, and the kinds of fish which they contain, there are no accurate data on the acreage of these waters. The following figures are approximately correct for the most important bodies :

	<i>Acres</i>		<i>Acres</i>
Berlin Pond, Berlin,	650	Joe's Pond, Cabot and Dan-	
Big Leach, or Wallace Pond,		ville,	1000
Canaan,	1200	Lake Bomoseen, Castleton,	15000
Caspian Lake, Greensboro,	1200	Lake Dunmore, Salisbury	
Colchester Pond, Colchester,	800	and Leicester,	3000
Crystal Lake, Barton,	1400	Lake St. Catherine, Wells	
Echo Pond, Charleston,	800	and Poultney,	2000
Fairfield Pond, Fairfield,	1500	Little Averill Pond, Averill,	800
Fairlee Lake, Fairlee and		Maidstone Lake, Maidstone,	1000
Thetford,	1500	May Pond, Barton,	1000
Franklin Pond, Franklin,	1800	Memphremagog, Derby and	
Great Averill Pond, Averill,	1200	Newport, (in Vermont)	8000
Great Hosmer Pond, Albany,	1000	Morey Lake, Fairlee,	1300
Groton Pond, Groton,	1800	Salem Pond, Derby,	1000
Hosmer Pond, Craftsbury,	650	Seymour Lake, Morgan,	5000
Island Pond, Brighton,	1500	Shelburne Pond, Shelburne,	700
		Willoughby Lake, Westmore,	5500

Counties

Previous to the declaration of independence by the state in 1777, the territory of the New Hampshire Grants lay within the limits of four counties: Cumberland, Gloucester, Charlotte, and Albany. The boundaries of these counties are shown on page 74.

Cumberland County lay east of the Green Mountains and extended from the southern boundary of the state as far north as the southern part of the present county of Orange. This county was established by the Colonial Legislature of New York in 1766. The act was annulled by royal decree in 1767, but was renewed in the following year, and the county was incorporated in March, 1768. The first shire town was Chester, but the county seat was removed to Westminster in 1772.

Gloucester County, which was formed in 1770, with Newbury as shire town, comprised all of the grants north of Cumberland County and east of the mountains.

Charlotte County included a portion of New York and the part of the grants which lay west of the Green Mountains and north of the towns of Arlington and Sunderland. The county was formed in 1772, with its shire at Skenesboro, now Whitehall.

Albany County comprised the remainder of the state west of the Green Mountains and south of Charlotte County, as well as part of New York.

The present counties of the state were organized as follows:

Bennington, 1779	Chittenden, 1782	Orleans, 1792
Windham, 1779	Addison, 1787	Grand Isle, 1802
Rutland, 1781	Franklin, 1792	Washington, 1810
Windsor, 1781	Caledonia, 1792	Lamoille, 1835
Orange, 1781	Essex, 1792	

GEOLOGICAL NOTES¹

Vermont has, in proportion to her population, greater wealth in quarries than any other state. As a mining state, however, she never has been important and never can be; for although she possesses a diversity of metals, they do not exist under such conditions that they can be profitably obtained in any appreciable quantities. For instance, gold has been found in many places in the state, but nowhere in paying quantities. It occurs in both the sands of streams and in gold-bearing rocks. But not every quartz vein is gold bearing, and if gold-bearing quartz is found it still remains to get the rock out of the ground and the gold out of the rock. The process of separating gold from quartz is complex and involves the use of expensive machinery, so that it costs more to get the metal than it is worth.

The only mining which has been extensively carried on to any profit is copper mining. In a few localities this has probably paid. Copper has been mined to some extent for over eighty years, although there have been intervals of inactivity. There is no native copper in the state, that is, copper in a pure form, such as exists in the great beds of the Lake Superior copper region; but it occurs as chalcopyrite or copper pyrites, a sulphide of copper, which is usually largely mixed with iron sulphide. Within the last few years there has been an increased demand for copper owing to its use in electrical equipments; and owing to this and a corresponding increase in price some renewed interest has been shown in the copper mines of Vermont, and copper is again mined at the old Ely mine in Vershire, the Elizabeth mine in South Strafford, the Reynolds mine in Strafford, and the mine of the Vermont and Boston Mining Company in Berkshire.

Lead is found in many parts of the state, and although a few attempts have been made to work lead mines, the quantity has been insufficient to develop them. In 1880, according to the Census Report, this state produced two hundred and fifty tons of

¹ Taken from the Report of the State Geologist, G. H. Perkins, for 1900, and from the Fourteenth Agricultural Report.

metallic iron. Little has been produced since, and no beds are now worked, although many towns possess deposits of iron associated with ocher, kaolin, clays, etc. Bog manganese is found here and there over the state. Soapstone, freestone, asbestos, talc, and paint have been found in sufficient quantities to tempt experiments at working them. One bed of kaolin, worked at Monkton, has been used in the manufacture of china ware and fire clay. The Rutland Fire Clay Company digs clay to use in stove linings. The principal beds of ocher are at Brandon, Shaftsbury, and Bennington. There are quarries of quartzite which have been worked by the Pike Manufacturing Company of Brownington for scythestones.

The first quarries to be opened were naturally those in which building material was sought. But the construction of stone buildings involves the use of mortar, and as this is obtained from limestone it follows that the latter must have been quarried early. Nearly all the limestone in this state is found in the western part, not far from Lake Champlain. For more than a century stone has been taken out at the southern end of Isle La Motte, an almost black limestone with few fossils. At Grand Isle two quarries have been worked, mostly for railroad construction. Quarries at Highgate and Swanton have been worked since the early part of the nineteenth century, furnishing the stone for extensive kilns from which lime is made. It has also been obtained at Colchester, Brandon, Leicester Junction, and elsewhere. East of this narrow strip of limestone the rocks are mostly schist, granite, gneiss, quartzite, and other metamorphic rocks.

The especially important quarries are those of slate, marble, and granite. The location of the first two industries is very interesting. They are both situated in a long, narrow area, one east and the other west of the Taconic range. By far the larger part of both kinds of quarries is in Rutland County. The Taconic hills are a complete barrier between them. No marble is found west of the hills, no slate east. The marble belt reaches farther north than the slate belt, but the southern limit is about the same. The marble area is about twice as long from north to south as the slate area, and is somewhat wider from east to west.

The great slate belt begins on the north, near Glen Lake at West Castleton, and extends southward on each side of Lake Bomoseen, through Scotch Hill, New Haven, Blissville, Poultney, South Poultney, Wells, Pawlet, and West Pawlet, south of which no quarries are now worked, although they formerly extended as far as West Rupert. From north to south this slate region is about thirty miles in length; it is from five to six miles wide for the most part, and nowhere more than eight or ten miles in width. A number of different varieties of slate are produced, — unfading green, sea green, purple, variegated, and dark gray. There have been about one hundred and fifty quarries either temporarily or permanently worked in this area.

Especial mention has been made of both the marble and the granite industries in the closing chapter of the history, so that little further need be said here, save to note that the distribution of the granite is not so confined as that of the slate and marble, it occurring widely on the eastern side of the Green Mountains.

PART II

FOR REFERENCE AND FURTHER STUDY

MAP EXERCISES

Draw an outline of the state. Indicate the name of the adjacent territory. Show on the map the latitude and longitude of Vermont. State in miles the length of Vermont and the approximate width at the northern and southern boundaries. Indicate the area in square miles and the acreage, both land and water.

On an outline map such as the above show the course of the Green Mountain range and the situation of the Taconic, Granitic, and Red Sandrock mountains. Indicate the heights of the principal peaks.

On an outline map of the state insert the courses of the principal water ways tributary to the Connecticut River, the Hudson

River, Lake Memphremagog, and Lake Champlain. In drawing these rivers be careful to locate their sources properly, to show the territory which they drain, and their exits into the larger bodies of water. Tell where these larger bodies empty into the sea. Draw on this map the lakes of Vermont.

Sketch the county divisions on an outline map of the state. Indicate the names of the counties, the dates of organization, and the population. Show where the earliest settlements were made, with dates. Locate the cities and large towns. Draw the railroad lines which lie within the state.

Compare Vermont with the other New England states in respect to size and population. Compare it also with any three of the Middle, Southern, and Western states. Compare it with England, France, Switzerland, Italy.

NOTE. — These are foundation exercises, and, if necessary, should be repeated until good work can be shown. The maps should be drawn in class, from memory, should be carefully scrutinized by the teacher, and returned with whatever comment or criticism is needed. Oral questions should supplement the exercises. The following list of maps will be found useful for reference.

LIST OF MAPS

- I. Vermont at the close of the French and Indian wars,¹ facing p. 40.
- II. Early Map of New Hampshire, soon after the erection of Fort Dummer, p. 69.
- III. The First Political Division of Vermont, p. 74.
- IV. Vermont at the close of the Revolution,² facing p. 122.
- V. Railroad Map of Vermont, facing p. 220.
- VI. Geographical Map of Vermont, facing p. 273.
- VII. Township Map of Vermont, in colors, facing p. 301.

¹ This map shows French occupancy in the Champlain Valley; two of the old Indian routes; Governor Wentworth's early grants; the beginning of English settlement; the military outposts at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Fort William Henry, Number Four, Fort Dummer, and Fort Hoosac; the first road across the state; and the extent to which the wilderness had been explored. The original of this map bears no date, but internal evidence would indicate that it was made between 1759 and 1764.

² This map shows the extent to which townships had been granted before the close of the Revolution. A comparison with map I will indicate the very rapid development of the state following the close of the French and Indian wars. The townships marked Y were granted by governors of New York. The dotted lines indicate conflicting grants.

TOPICS ¹

CHAPTER I. Did Cartier see a part of Vermont? Distinguish between the possibility, the probability, and the certainty of it. The first contact of Indians and white men. Champlain's route to the lake. Champlain's impressions of the country: what would be his standard of comparison? The fauna of Vermont in 1609. Could the Indians be depended on for accurate accounts of the country? Modern weapons and Indian warfare. What reason is there to think that Champlain mistook limestone rocks for snow on the mountains? Distinguish what we positively know about the aborigines of Vermont from what we can reasonably infer. Describe the old burial ground at Swanton, and give the evidence of its antiquity. Indian relics and their uses. Describe Indian life from data given in this chapter.

CHAPTER II. Compare the French and English methods of colonizing, and mention some of the results. The French and Indian wars as an incident of colonial policy. Condition of our state at the time of these wars. How much of its geography was known? Describe the red men's roads. Illustrate the methods of warfare by the Deerfield raid and Rogers's exploit. Describe the building of Fort Dummer and the life of the scouts. How the French entered the Champlain Valley. When did it become evident that the French were losing ground? Find the reason for the failure of the French. The work and value of scouting parties.

CHAPTER III. Enumerate the indirect or secondary results of the French and Indian wars. Give the history of the old Indian road. The Hazen road. Local road building. Why is 1760 an important date in Vermont history? Bennington. Illustrate the choice of locations for settlement and how the first settlers came into the wilderness. What parts of the state were settled first and why? The extent of settlement at the time of the Revolution. Colonial society in its social, industrial, and intellectual aspects. Domestic economy. Political issues.

¹ The topics are not designed to supply the teachers with a complete list of ready-made questions, but to indicate the lines along which they may most profitably direct their own questions.

CHAPTER IV. Why were the early townships called the New Hampshire Grants? The cause of the dispute between New Hampshire and New York. To whom did all parties turn for appeal? How the question affected the settlers of this state. How the New Hampshire Grants passed under the jurisdiction of New York. What change of jurisdiction meant. Why the Order in Council of 1764 did not settle the trouble. Trace the steps in the contest. The settlers' methods of defense: their first appeal; their next resort; their final alternative. Were their methods of operation legal? Did the governors of New York act legally? What did the settlers' methods do for them in the way of building up a government? If the king had not issued the first Order in Council is it likely that Vermont would have been a separate state? Were there men in Vermont who had settled in good faith under New York patents? Could this dispute have been settled by compromise? Describe the situation leading to the "Westminster Massacre." Is it an incident of the Revolution or of the grant controversy, or both? Was it really a massacre? Were the settlers acting legally?

CHAPTER V. The relation of the grant controversy to the Revolution. The strategic importance of the Champlain Valley. How the British came to be in possession of the military posts. Colonial projects for securing possession of the Champlain Valley. The relation of the capture of Ticonderoga to the Revolution. The importance of the event as a military operation. The Green Mountain Boys in the war. Naval operations of 1776. The British plan of campaign for 1777. Events leading to the battle of Bennington. What caused Burgoyne's defeat? In what did the value of John Stark's services lie? The respects in which Bennington was an important battle. In what ways was it similar to the engagements at Lexington and Bunker Hill and unlike the others of the Revolution? The general effect of the war on frontier settlements. Illustrate. What should make the British think that the New Hampshire Grants would be loyal to the crown?

CHAPTER VI. What did the Revolution do for Vermont? How did it create an opportunity for more independent action than the

state could otherwise have taken? Why did Vermont become a state? What was the difference between Vermont and any one of the thirteen colonies? How did the conventions described in this chapter arise, and of whom were they composed? In what respects did the second differ from the first, the third from the second, and so on? Why were the conventions held at different places? Distinguish the different kinds of questions which came before the conventions. Name some of the burdens which Vermont assumed on becoming a state. The relation between the American Declaration of Independence and Vermont's.

CHAPTER VII. The conditions in Vermont compared with those in other states during the Revolutionary period and immediately following. Name the ways in which war affects the finances and industries of states. Compare Vermont's participation in the Revolution with that of other states. What made her continued growth through the Revolutionary period possible? Explain the origin of "ministers' lots," "school lots," etc. The location, the causes, and the extent of popular disturbances after the war. Legislative measures to relieve poor debtors. Vermont's case before Congress. History of the East and West unions. The negotiations with the British. What saved Vermont from invasion? Cite the opinions of leading men showing different points of view of the Vermont problem. Explain why Vermont was not admitted to the Union for fourteen years. Explain why she was admitted in 1791. In what ways can you indicate Governor Chittenden's skill and statesmanship?

CHAPTER VIII. Transportation as a factor in industrial development. What things were raised on the farms and where were they marketed? The first artisans in newly settled places. What things were made at home which we now buy? Give a description of the occupation and life of the people at the end of the eighteenth century. The beginning of quarrying, the lumber trade, steam navigation. Educational work of the early Vermonters. Banks, paper money, and coinage. Lotteries and how they were used. Differences between the northern and southern parts of the state. The claim of the Caughnawaga Indians and how it was disposed of.

CHAPTER IX. How did Vermont happen to take an active interest in the War of 1812? The effect of this war on the settlements. The principal naval events on Lake Champlain. Describe the war policy as revealed in the embargoes. How did it work? Arguments for and against such a policy. Why did New England not sympathize with such a policy? Trace the results in the general respect paid to law and in the course of trade. Did Vermont display loyalty to the government and good citizenship among her people?

CHAPTER X. What were the differences between rural life in Vermont half a century ago and to-day? The neighborhood as a center of industry and social life. Discuss the application of labor, transportation, and markets as factors of change in the forms of industry. The growth of manufacturing before the Civil War, with illustrations of important developments. The work of the state on its educational system before the Civil War. In what respects was Vermont a pioneer in educational progress? How the growth of negro slavery became the dominant issue in national politics.

CHAPTER XI. Vermont's record on the slavery question. The situation of the North on the verge of war. The apprehensions of public men in Vermont on the impending crisis. The outbreak of the war. Activities throughout the state. Illustrate the private, public, and official feeling on the issue. The raising of troops in the state. A summary of the services of Vermont. Some of the important campaigns in which the First Vermont Brigade served. Opinions of officers on the quality of our soldiers. The St. Albans Raid.

CHAPTER XII. Trace the effects of war on industry and agricultural conditions during the continuance of the contest. The reaction after the war was over. The westward movement of population. The main features of our industrial development since the Civil War. Illustrate the manner in which new industries arise and diversify. The gains made in our educational system. An outline of the present system. Vermont's representatives in the Spanish War and the importance of the part they played.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Bibliography and General Works

The most complete bibliography is that published in the *Argus and Patriot*, by M. D. Gilman, and later in one volume (Burlington, 1897). The most detailed and valuable histories of the state were published comparatively early. Among the best are :

SAMUEL WILLIAMS. *Natural and Civil History of Vermont*. Walpole, N.H., 1794. 2d ed., enlarged and corrected. Burlington, Vt., 1809. 2 vols.

ZADOCK THOMPSON. *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical*. In three parts. Burlington, 1848. Contains the *Gazetteer*.

BENJAMIN HOMER HALL. *The History of Eastern Vermont to the Close of the Eighteenth Century*. New York, 1858. Albany, 1865. An original work, involving much research and incorporating new material. Written from manuscripts in the offices of the secretaries of state of Vermont, New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Quite full on the history of the controversy over the grants, and containing much detailed local history.

HILAND HALL. *History of Vermont from its Discovery to its Admission into the Union in 1791*. Albany, 1868. Written from original documents and personal investigation.

In addition to the above there are a few works which deserve mention for special reasons. Such are :

IRA ALLEN. *Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont*. London, 1798. Reprinted in *Vermont Historical Society Collections*, I, Montpelier, Vt., 1870. This book has the disadvantage of being written by a partisan, from memory, without the possibility of verifying any doubtful statements. It is, therefore, somewhat prejudiced, uncritical, and inaccurate. But it has the advantage of being the only account we possess of the Haldimand negotiations from an insider, and is therefore a contribution which cannot be disregarded. It covers the period from 1764 to 1791.

A. M. HEMENWAY (editor). *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*. Five vols. Burlington, 1867-1891. This is sometimes cited as the

Vermont Historical Magazine. It is made up of the contributions of local writers, and is therefore not of uniform value. It contains masses of information not elsewhere available, and tells much about the life of the people as well as of the separate towns.

ROWLAND E. ROBINSON. Vermont. Boston, 1892. The best of the more recent single-volume histories of moderate compass. It combines faithful and painstaking effort for accuracy with good literary workmanship. A good book for the general reader to own.

RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY AND GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF VERMONT. 8 vols. Montpelier, 1873-1880. This is the most important series, as well as the most comprehensive, on the history of the state. Invaluable for any original study.

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GEORGE H. PERKINS. Some Relics of the Indians of Vermont (*American Naturalist*, March, 1871). On Some Fragments of Pottery from Vermont (Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, August, 1876). On an Ancient Burial Ground in Swanton, Vermont (Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1873). The Calumet in the Champlain Valley (*Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. XLV, 1894). The Stone Axe in Vermont: I, Celts; II, Notched and Grooved Axes (*American Naturalist*, December, 1885; June, 1886). Archæological Researches in the Champlain Valley (Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology). Archæology of Vermont (*American Naturalist*, June, 1881). Archæology of New England (*Prehistoric Implements*, Moorehead, Section IV, 1900).

DAVID S. KELLOGG. Early Mention of Events and Places in the Valley of Lake Champlain (published in Vermont Historical Society Proceedings, 1902).

Discoveries and Early History

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. Works. Translated in Slafter's Champlain. (Prince Society Publications. Portions are translated in O'Callaghan, Documentary History of New York, III.)

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NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS, V, 207-211. Journal of Eleazer Melvin with eighteen men under his command, in the wilderness toward Crown Point, 1748.

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ROBERT ROGERS. Journals of Major Robert Rogers. London, 1765. These cover his scouting in the Champlain Valley as well as the history of his famous raid against the St. Francis Indians.

Major General JOHN STARK. Memoir and Official Correspondence. (Ed. Caleb Stark.) Concord, 1860.

FRANCIS PARKMAN. Champlain and His Associates (Pioneers of France in the New World), Chapters I, IX, X. A Half-Century of Conflict, Chapters I, III, V, XI, XVII, XXIII, XXIV. Montcalm and Wolfe, Introduction and Chapters I, XX, XXVI.

E. HOYT. Antiquarian Researches: Comprising a History of the Indian Wars in the Country bordering on the Connecticut River, to 1760. Greenfield, Mass., 1824.

J. A. GRAHAM. Descriptive Sketch of Vermont. London, 1797.

Geology and Geography

ALBERT HAGAR. Report on the Economical Geology, Physical Geography, and Scenery of Vermont. 1861.

GEORGE H. PERKINS. Report of the State Geologist on the Mineral Resources of Vermont. 1899-1900.

In addition to works mentioned above, attention is called to town histories, some of which, like Wells's "History of Newbury," have brought new material to light; to county histories, some of which, as Smith and Rann's "History of Rutland County," are

excellent and contain much information about early roads, settlements, and the state of society ; to pamphlets published by various local historical societies ; to the Vermont Agricultural Reports, the fourteenth number of which is especially interesting ; to the Census Reports for the data which they furnish on the manufactures and industries of the state ; to biographical sketches, especially those in J. G. Ullery's "Men of Vermont" ; to the many articles and illustrations bearing on the history of the state which have appeared from time to time in *The Vermonter* ; to the last report of the Superintendent of Education ; and to the literary efforts of Vermont writers, — notably D. P. Thompson's "The Green Mountain Boys" and "The Rangers," the poems of John G. Saxe and Julia Dorr, and Rowland E. Robinson's "A Hero of Ticonderoga," "A Danvis Pioneer," "Uncle Lisha's Shop," and "Sam Lovell's Camps."

The author acknowledges a special indebtedness to G. G. Benedict's "Vermont in the Civil War." The material for Chapter XI was taken almost exclusively from this work.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1607 The English land at Jamestown.
- 1608 Samuel de Champlain founds the city of Quebec.
- 1609 On July 4 Champlain enters the lake which bears his name.
Henry Hudson explores the Hudson River.
- 1613 The Dutch establish a trading post at Manhattan.
- 1614 John Smith explores the New England coast.
- 1619 A cargo of slaves is landed in Virginia.
- 1620 The Pilgrims land at Plymouth.
- 1623 New Amsterdam is settled by the Dutch.
Albany is settled.
- 1629 New Hampshire is granted to Mason.
- 1630 Boston is founded.
- 1636 Springfield is settled.
- 1639 First printing press in America is set up at Cambridge.
- 1650 New York's eastern boundary provisionally settled.

- 1654 Northampton settled.
1664 The English conquer New Netherlands.
1665 The French build a fort on Isle La Motte.
1670 Deerfield settled.
1690 Settlement in Vermont.
Raid on Schenectady.
The English build a Fort at Chimney Point.
First English Expedition through Lake Champlain.
1702 Queen Anne's War begins.
1704 The Raid on Deerfield.
1714 Northfield settled.
1715 The "equivalent lands" granted by Massachusetts to Connecticut.
1719 Weekly newspapers established in Boston and Philadelphia.
1724 Fort Dummer is built in Vermont by Massachusetts.
1730 The French settle at Chimney Point.
1731 Fort Frederick (Crown Point) built by the French.
1732 George Washington born.
1736 Township No. 1 (Westminster) granted by Massachusetts.
1739 Grant of Walloomsac.
1740 Southern boundary of New Hampshire fixed, involving that of Vermont.
1741 Benning Wentworth appointed governor of New Hampshire.
1744 King George's War with France.
Fort Massachusetts built at Williamstown.
1745 French and Indian raid on Saratoga.
1749 Bennington granted by Governor Wentworth.
1750 Protest of Governor Clinton of New York.
The boundary question submitted to the king.
1753 Settlement of Bellows Falls.
1754 French and Indian War begun.
1755 The English build Fort William Henry at the foot of Lake George.
1758 The English try to drive the French from Lake Champlain.
1759 The English take Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
Wolfe captures the city of Quebec.
Rogers destroys the Indian village of St. Francis.

- 1760 Montreal taken by the English.
- 1760-63 Governor Wentworth makes many grants.
- 1761 Bennington settled. Settlers begin to come in rapidly.
- 1762 Newbury settled.
- 1763 Peace between England and France. Southern boundary of Canada fixed at 45° north latitude.
- 1764 Order in Council decides the Connecticut River to be the eastern boundary of New York.
Windsor, Manchester, and Guildhall settled.
- 1765 New York patents begin to be issued for Vermont lands.
The Stamp Act goes into effect.
Convention of settlers west of the mountains.
- 1766 Another convention west of the mountains ; the settlers send Samuel Robinson to England as agent.
The Stamp Act repealed.
Middlebury settled. Vergennes settled.
Cumberland County formed.
- 1767 Order in Council forbids New York authorities to make further grants of disputed lands.
- 1769 The king's order not observed.
- 1770 Ejectment suits decided at Albany against the settlers.
Ethan Allen appears for the defense.
Rutland settled.
Gloucester County formed, north of Cumberland.
- 1771 The raid on Breakenridge's farm.
Organization of the Green Mountain Boys.
Rewards offered for the arrest of Ethan Allen and other leaders.
- 1772 Remember Baker captured by Justice Munro, but rescued by neighbors.
Settlers hold five meetings of "Committees of Safety."
Charlotte County formed, lying on both sides of Lake Champlain.
- 1773 Burlington settled.
- 1774 Congress of delegates at Philadelphia.
Committees of Safety meet in March and April.
St. Albans settled.

- 1775 March 13. The Westminster Massacre.
April 11. Committee of Safety meets at Westminster.
April 19. Battle of Lexington.
May 10. { Capture of Ticonderoga.
 { Continental Congress assembles.
Committees of Safety form throughout the colonies.
Green Mountain Boys form a regiment.
Invasion of Canada.
Ethan Allen captured and sent to England.
- 1776 Retreat from Canada. Carleton's expedition down the lake.
June 21. Convention at Westminster.
July 4. United States declare their independence.
July 24. Convention at Dorset.
Sept. 25. Convention at Dorset.
Oct. 30. Convention at Westminster.
- 1777 Jan. 15. Convention at Westminster. Vermont declares
her independence.
June 4. Convention at Windsor.
July 2. Convention at Windsor. Constitution adopted.
July 7. Battle of Hubbardton. Burgoyne's invasion.
Aug. 16. Battle of Bennington.
Oct. 17. Burgoyne surrenders.
Dec. 24. Constitutional Convention.
- 1778 Vermonters build frontier forts. British raid the farms by
the lake.
Thomas Chittenden elected governor.
Legislature meets at Windsor.
Tory lands confiscated.
Union of western New Hampshire towns with Vermont.
First newspaper in Vermont published at Westminster.
- 1779 Code of laws adopted.
New Hampshire and Massachusetts assert claims to Ver-
mont territory.
Congress appoints a committee to consider the boundary
dispute.
- 1780 Raid of British and Indians on Royalton.
The British appear again on the lake.

- 1781 East and West unions formed.
Intrigue with the British (Haldimand negotiations).
British letters sent to Congress by Ethan Allen and Benjamin Franklin.
- 1782 George Washington advises Vermont to give up the annexed towns.
The legislature relinquishes the unions.
“Windham County Rebellion.” Offenders banished.
- 1783 Peace with Great Britain.
- 1784 Vermont ceases to press her suit for admission to the Union.
State Post Office established.
Ludlow settled.
- 1785 State coinage. Mint at Rupert.
- 1786 Revision of the state constitution. Montpelier settled.
St. Johnsbury settled.
- 1787 Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia.
- 1788 Northern states want Vermont admitted to offset Southern influence.
Kentucky applies for admission.
- 1790 Agreement ratified between Vermont and New York.
Vermont appropriates \$30,000 to pay New York’s claims.
- 1791 Vermont becomes a state of the Union, March 4.
- 1793 Newport settled.
- 1800 University of Vermont opened.
Middlebury College founded.
- 1801 Thomas Jefferson, President.
- 1804 Jefferson reëlected.
- 1806 State banks established at Woodstock and Middlebury.
- 1807 State prison at Windsor authorized.
- 1808 Montpelier becomes the state capital.
Smuggling on Lake Champlain due to land embargo.
Steam transportation begun.
Madison elected President.
- 1810 State banks fail.
- 1811 Private banks chartered.
- 1812 Madison reëlected.

- 1812 War with Great Britain.
The state levies a war tax.
- 1813 Federalist party elects Martin Chittenden as governor.
Naval operations on Lake Champlain.
- 1814 Sept. 11. Battles at Plattsburg and Plattsburg Bay.
- 1815 Peace declared.
- 1816 The "cold season." Monroe elected President.
- 1817 President Monroe visits Vermont.
- 1820 Monroe reëlected.
- 1822 Lake Champlain Canal opened.
State Medical School founded.
- 1825 Lafayette visits Vermont and lays the corner stone of the
new university building at Burlington.
Erie Canal opened.
Board of Canal Commissioners appointed for Vermont.
- 1827 General school act passed.
- 1828 William Lloyd Garrison comes to Bennington.
New tariff stimulates wool growing.
- 1830 First railroad opened in America.
Anti-Masonic agitation in Vermont becomes political.
- 1833 United States deposits withdrawn from branch bank at
Burlington, causing distress.
Temperance movement results in incipient legislation.
- 1834 Slavery question prominent.
- 1837 Great panic. Specie payments suspended. Wheat crop
fails.
- 1839 Legislative protests against slavery in the District of
Columbia.
- 1841-42 Cold winter and terrible epidemic.
- 1843 Appropriations made for agricultural societies.
Warrants for apprehending fugitive slaves forbidden to be
issued.
- 1846-47 Mexican War.
- 1847 Burlington Savings Bank chartered. Railroads begin to
operate.
- 1848 More protests against slavery.
- 1849-51 Extension of railroads.

- 1852 Prohibitory law passed.
- 1858 Vermont passes an emancipation proclamation. All negroes free when on Vermont soil.
- 1860 Lincoln elected President. Secession of Southern states.
- 1861 April 2. Sumter fired on.
April 15. Governor Fairbanks's call for troops.
April 19. First Vermont regiment formed.
Special session of the legislature.
- 1862 New regiments formed. Vermont troops distinguish themselves at Lee's Mill and Savage's Station.
- 1863 Vermont troops render distinguished service at Marye's Heights and Gettysburg.
- 1864 Vermont troops in the battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and the Shenandoah campaign. St. Albans Raid, Oct. 19.
- 1865 Vermont troops lead the charge at Petersburg and carry the flag into Richmond. End of the war. Assassination of Lincoln, April 14.
- 1867 Morrill tariff encourages wool growing and other Vermont industries.
- 1869 Council of Censors proposes constitutional amendments.
- 1870 Constitutional Convention. Council of Censors abolished. Legislative sessions made biennial. Biennial state elections.
- 1873-74 Financial stringency.
- 1877 Great centennial anniversary celebration at Bennington.
- 1880 Senator Edmunds nominated for President. Garfield elected.
- 1885 Edward J. Phelps appointed minister to Great Britain.
- 1886 State Library completed.
- 1888 State Farm purchased for agricultural experiments.
- 1889 Redfield Proctor appointed Secretary of War.
- 1893 Henry C. Ide appointed Chief Justice of Samoa by England, Germany, and the United States.
- 1898 May 1. Dewey's victory at Manila.
- 1902 High-license campaign. President Roosevelt visits Vermont.
- 1903 Local-option law takes effect.

PART III

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE A

NEW YORK LAND GRANTS MADE IN VERMONT,
WITH THE FEES

		<i>Acres</i>	<i>Fees</i>
Grants made by Lieut. Gov. Colden,	1765,	36,000	\$1,125.00
" " " " "	1769-70,	559,500	17,484.37
" " " " "	1774-75,	370,000	11,562.50
		<u>965,500</u>	<u>\$30,171.87</u>
Grants made by Gov. Moore,	1765-69,	144,620	4,519.37
" " " " Dunmore,	1770-71,	455,950	14,248.44
" " " " Tryon,	1771-74,	486,500	15,203.12
" " " " "	1775-76,	63,040	1,970.00
Total granted by all the governors,		<u>2,115,610</u>	<u>\$66,112.80</u>

Additional fees charged for these grants:

Secretary of the Province,	\$21,156.10
Clerk of the Council,	21,156.10
Auditor General,	9,784.71
Receiver General,	30,411.87
Attorney General,	15,867.08
Surveyor General,	<u>26,445.13</u>
	<u>\$124,820.99</u>

Total fees charged, \$190,933.79.

Of the above grants, all but 180,620 acres were granted in direct disobedience to the Order in Council of 1767. Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden, acting as chief magistrate, treated the grants made by Benning Wentworth as nullities and the settlers as trespassers, and went on making grants after the Order in Council of 1767. Governor Moore respected the order. By the rest it was disregarded. In addition to the above grants there were so-called military patents covering 303,100 acres, making in all 2,418,710 acres granted in this state by New York authorities. It is charged that the military patents were really made largely for the benefit of speculators, to whom the officers and soldiers, having come from Europe and desiring to return thither, disposed of their claims for trifling sums. (Vermont Historical Society Collections, I, 158-159.)

TABLE B

GOVERNORS OF VERMONT (*Legislative Directory*)

Thomas Chittenden,	1778-89	Ryland Fletcher,	1856-58
Moses Robinson,	1789-90	Hiland Hall,	1858-60
Thomas Chittenden, ¹	1790-97	Erastus Fairbanks,	1860-61
Paul Brigham, ²	Aug. 25-Oct. 16, '97	Frederick Holbrook,	1861-63
Isaac Tichenor,	1797-1807	J. Gregory Smith,	1863-65
Israel Smith,	1807-08	Paul Dillingham,	1865-67
Isaac Tichenor,	1808-09	John B. Page,	1867-69
Jonas Galusha,	1809-13	Peter T. Washburn, ¹	1869-70
Martin Chittenden,	1813-15	George W. Hendee, ²	1870-
Jonas Galusha,	1815-20	John W. Stewart,	1870-72
Richard Skinner,	1820-23	Julius Converse,	1872-74
Cornelius P. Van Ness,	1823-26	Asahel Peck,	1874-76
Ezra Butler,	1826-28	Horace Fairbanks,	1876-78
Samuel C. Crafts,	1828-31	Redfield Proctor,	1878-80
William A. Palmer,	1831-35	Roswell Farnham,	1880-82
Silas H. Jennison, ³	1835-36	John L. Barstow,	1882-84
Silas H. Jennison,	1836-41	Samuel E. Pingree,	1884-86
Charles Paine,	1841-43	Ebenezer J. Ormsbee,	1886-88
John Mattocks,	1843-44	William P. Dillingham,	1888-90
William Slade,	1844-46	Carroll S. Page,	1890-92
Horace Eaton,	1846-48	Levi K. Fuller,	1892-94
Carlos Coolidge,	1848-50	Urban A. Woodbury,	1894-96
Charles K. Williams,	1850-52	Josiah Grout,	1896-98
Erastus Fairbanks,	1852-53	Edward C. Smith,	1898-1900
John S. Robinson,	1853-54	William W. Stickney,	1900-02
Stephen Royce,	1854-56	John G. McCullogh,	1902-

¹ Died in office.² Lieutenant Governor. Governor by the death of previous incumbent.³ Lieutenant Governor. Governor by failure of the people to elect.

TABLE C

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND SENATORS IN CONGRESS
(*Legislative Directory*)

The state is divided into two Congressional Districts as follows :

District I. Composed of Addison, Bennington, Chittenden, Franklin, Grand Isle, Lamoille, and Rutland counties.

District II. Composed of Caledonia, Essex, Orange, Orleans, Washington, Windham, and Windsor counties.

SENATORS

<i>Senators of the First Class</i> ¹		<i>Senators of the Second Class</i> ¹	
Moses Robinson, ²	1791-96	Stephen R. Bradley,	1791-95
Isaac Tichenor, ²	1796-97	Elijah Paine,	1795-1801
Nathaniel Chipman,	1797-1803	Stephen R. Bradley,	1801-13
Israel Smith, ²	1803-07	Dudley Chase, ²	1813-17
Jonathan Robinson,	1807-15	James Fisk, ²	1817-18
Isaac Tichenor,	1815-21	William A. Palmer,	1818-25
Horatio Seymour,	1821-33	Dudley Chase,	1825-31
Benjamin Swift,	1833-39	Samuel Prentiss, ²	1831-42
Samuel S. Phelps,	1839-51	Samuel C. Crafts,	1842-43
Solomon Foot, ³	1851-66	William Upham, ³	1843-53
George F. Edmunds, ²	1866-91	Samuel S. Phelps,	1853-54
Redfield Proctor,	1891-	Lawrence Brainerd,	1854-55
		Jacob Collamer, ³	1855-65
		Luke P. Poland,	1865-67
		Justin S. Morrill, ³	1867-99
		Jonathan Ross,	1899-1900
		William P. Dillingham,	1900-

¹ See Constitution United States, Article I, Section 3, clause 2.

² Resigned.

³ Died in office.

TABLE D

POPULATION OF THE STATE BY DECADES FROM THE
FIRST CENSUS (*Census of 1900*)

YEAR	POPULATION	INCREASE	PER CENT	DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE
1790	85,425			9.4
1800	154,465	69,040	80.8	16.9
1810	217,895	63,430	41.1	23.9
1820	235,981	18,086	8.3	25.8
1830	280,652	44,671	18.9	30.7
1840	291,948	11,296	4.0	32.0
1850	314,120	22,172	7.6	34.4
1860	315,098	978	0.3	34.5
1870	330,551	15,453	4.9	36.2
1880	332,286	1,735	0.5	36.4
1890	332,422	136	— ¹	36.4
1900	343,641	11,219	3.4	37.6

¹ Less than one tenth of one per cent gain.

TABLE E

POPULATION OF VERMONT BY COUNTIES FROM THE FIRST CENSUS (*Census of 1900*)

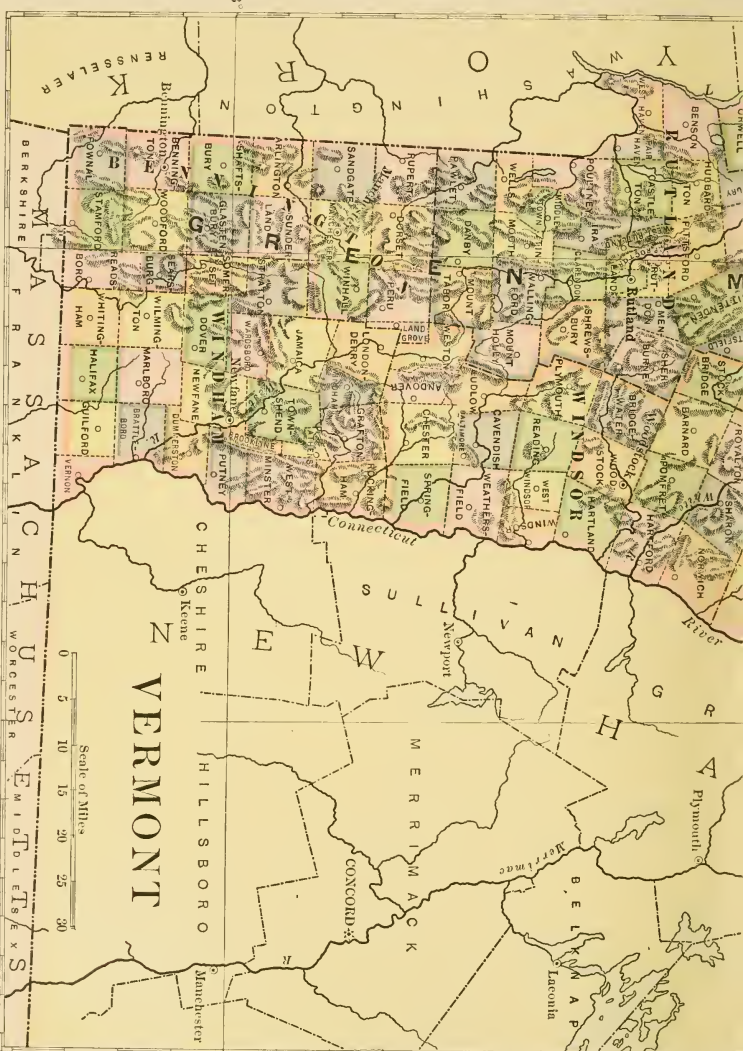
When the first census was taken there were only seven counties. The formation of other counties went on after this until 1835, when the last one was organized. The census reports since 1840, therefore, contain the distribution of population among all the present counties; but the earlier reports do not.

YEAR	ADDISON	BENNING- TON	CALE- DONIA ¹	CHITTEN- DEN	ESSEX	FRANK- LIN	GRAND ISLE
1790	6,449	12,254	—	7,295	—	—	—
1800	13,417	14,617	9,377	12,778	1,470	8,782	—
1810	19,993	15,893	18,730	18,120	3,087	16,427	3,445
1820	20,469	16,125	16,669	16,272	3,284	17,192	3,527
1830	24,940	17,468	20,967	21,765	3,981	24,525	3,696
1840	23,583	16,872	21,891	22,977	4,226	24,531	3,883
1850	26,549	18,589	23,595	29,036	4,650	28,586	4,145
1860	24,010	19,436	21,698	28,171	5,786	27,231	4,276
1870	23,484	21,325	22,235	36,480	6,811	30,291	4,082
1880	24,173	21,950	23,607	32,792	7,931	30,225	4,124
1890	22,277	20,448	23,436	35,389	9,511	29,755	3,843
1900	21,912	21,705	24,381	39,600	8,056	30,198	4,462

YEAR	LA- MOILLE	ORANGE	ORLEANS	RUTLAND	WASH- INGTON ²	WIND- HAM	WIND- SOR
1790	—	10,526	—	15,591	—	17,570	15,740
1800	—	18,238	1,439	23,813	—	23,581	26,944
1810	—	25,247	5,830	29,486	—	26,760	34,877
1820	—	24,681	6,976	29,083	14,113	28,457	38,233
1830	—	27,285	13,980	31,294	21,378	28,748	40,625
1840	10,475	27,873	13,634	30,699	23,506	27,442	40,356
1850	10,872	27,296	15,707	33,059	24,654	29,062	38,320
1860	12,311	25,455	18,981	35,946	27,622	26,982	37,193
1870	12,448	23,090	21,035	40,651	26,520	26,036	36,063
1880	12,684	23,525	22,083	41,829	25,404	26,763	35,196
1890	12,831	19,575	22,101	45,397	29,606	26,547	31,706
1900	12,289	19,313	22,024	44,209	36,607	26,660	32,225

¹ Part of Washington. Annexed since 1890.

² Part annexed to Caledonia since 1890.



VERMONT

Scale of Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25 30

Longitude West from Greenwich

73°

72°

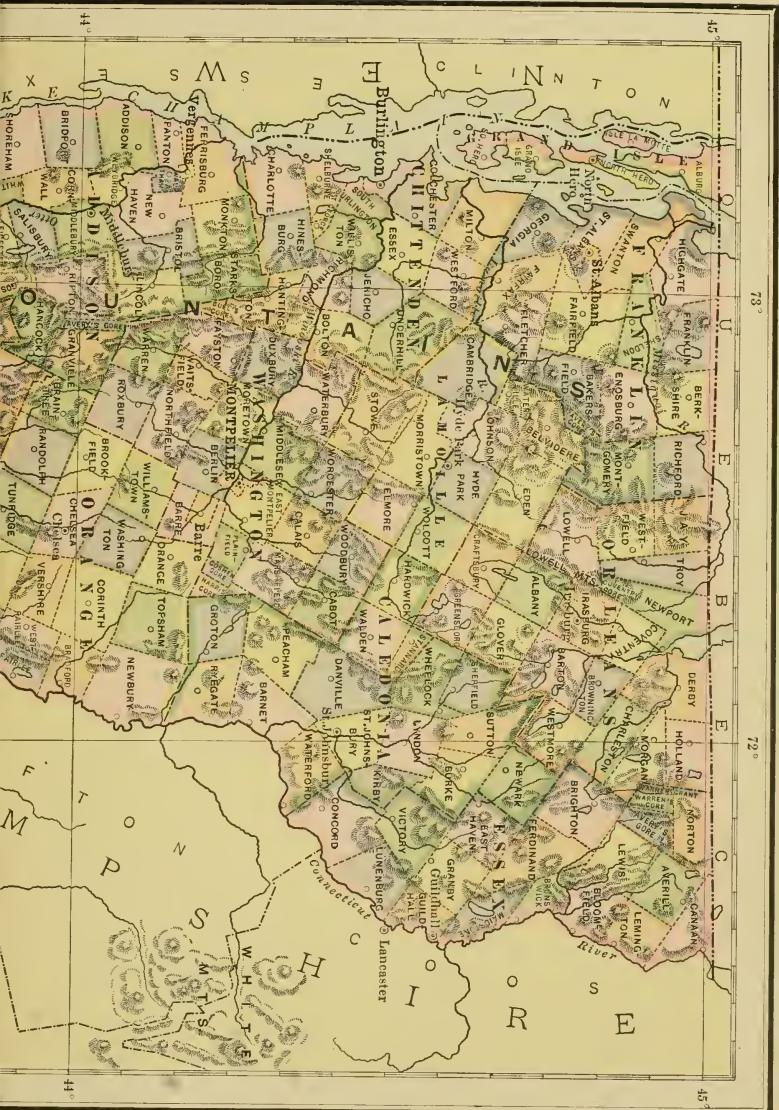


TABLE F

POPULATION OF VERMONT BY TOWNS (*Census of 1900*)

Addison	851	Bridgewater	972
Albany	1,028	Bridport	956
Alburg	1,474	Brighton	2,023
Andover	372	Bristol	2,061
Arlington	1,193	Brookfield	996
Athens	180	Brookline	171
Averill	18	Brownington	748
Avery's Gore	16	Brunswick	106
		Buel's Gore	20
Bakersfield	1,158	Burke	1,148
Baltimore	55	Burlington	18,640
Barnard	840		
Barnet	1,763	Cabot	1,126
Barre (town)	3,346	<i>Cabot Village</i>	226
Barre (city)	8,448	Calais	1,101
Barton	2,790	Cambridge	1,606
<i>Barton Village</i>	1,050	Canaan	934
<i>Barton Landing</i>	677	Castleton	2,089
Bellows Falls	4,337	Cavendish	1,352
Belvidere	428	Charleston	1,025
Bennington (town)	8,033	Charlotte	1,254
<i>Bennington (village)</i>	5,656	Chelsea	1,070
<i>Bennington Center</i>	215	Chester	1,775
<i>North Bennington</i>	670	<i>Chester Village</i>	950
Benson	844	Chittenden	621
Berkshire	1,326	Clarendon	915
Berlin	1,021	Colchester	5,352
Bethel	1,611	Concord	1,129
Bloomfield	564	Corinth	978
Bolton	486	Cornwall	850
Bradford	1,338	Coventry	728
<i>Bradford Village</i>	614	Craftsbury	1,251
Braintree	776		
Brandon	2,759	Danby	964
Brattleboro (town)	6,640	Danville	1,628
<i>Brattleboro Village</i>	5,297	Derby	3,274

<i>Derby Village</i>	297	Halifax	662
Derby Line	309	Hancock	253
Dorset	1,477	Hardwick	2,466
Dover	503	<i>Hardwick Village</i>	1,334
Dummerston	726	Hartford	3,817
Duxbury	778	Hartland	1,340
		Highgate	1,980
East Haven	171	Hinesburg	1,216
East Montpelier	1,061	Holland	838
Eden	738	Hubbardton	488
Elmore	550	Huntington	728
Enosburg	2,054	Hydepark	1,472
Enosburg Falls	954	<i>Hydepark Village</i>	422
Essex	2,203		
Essex Junction	1,141	Ira	350
		Irassburg	939
Fairfax	1,338	Isle La Motte	508
Fairfield	1,830		
Fairhaven	2,999	Jamaica	800
<i>Fairhaven Village</i>	2,470	Jay	530
Fairlee	438	Jericho	1,373
Fayston	466	Johnson	1,391
Ferdinand	41	<i>Johnson Village</i>	587
Ferrisburg	1,619		
Fletcher	750	Kirby	350
Franklin	1,145		
		Landgrove	225
Georgia	1,280	Leicester	509
Glastonbury	48	Lemington	204
Glover	891	Lewis	8
Goshen	286	Lincoln	1,152
Grafton	804	Londonderry	961
Granby	182	Lowell	982
Grand Isle	851	Ludlow	2,042
Granville	544	<i>Ludlow Village</i>	1,454
Greensboro	874	Lunenburg	968
Groton	1,059	Lyndon	2,956
Guildhall	455	Lyndon Center	232
Guilford	782	Lyndonville	1,274

Maidstone	206	Pittsford	1,866
Manchester	1,955	Plainfield	716
Marlboro	448	<i>Plainfield Village</i>	341
Marshfield	1,032	Plymouth	646
Mendon	392	Pomfret	777
Middlebury	3,045	Poultney	3,108
<i>Middlebury Village</i>	1,897	Pownal	1,976
Middlesex	883	<i>Pownal Village</i>	401
Middletown Springs	746	Proctor	2,136
Milton	1,804	<i>Proctor Village</i>	2,013
Monkton	912	Putney	969
Montgomery	1,876		
Montpelier	6,266	Randolph	3,141
Moretown	902	<i>Randolph Village</i>	1,540
Morgan	510	Reading	649
Morristown	2,583	Readsboro	1,139
Morrisville	1,262	<i>Readsboro Village</i>	658
Mount Holly	999	Richford	2,421
Mount Tabor	494	<i>Richford Village</i>	1,513
		Richmond	1,057
Newark	500	Ripton	525
Newbury	2,125	Rochester	1,250
Newfane	905	Rockingham	5,809
New Haven	1,107	Roxbury	712
Newport	3,113	Royalton	1,427
<i>Newport Village</i>	1,874	Rupert	863
Northfield	2,855	Rutland (town)	1,109
<i>Northfield Village</i>	1,508	Rutland (city)	11,499
North Hero	712	Ryegate	995
North Troy	562		
Norton	692	Salisbury	692
Norwich	1,303	Sandgate	482
		Searsburg	161
Orange	598	Shaftsbury	1,857
Orwell	1,150	Sharon	709
		Sheffield	724
Panton	409	Shelburne	1,202
Pawlet	1,731	Sheldon	1,341
Peacham	794	Sherburne	402
Peru	373	Shoreham	1,193
Pittsfield	435	Shrewsbury	935

Somerset	67	Waltham	264
South Burlington	971	Wardsboro	637
South Hero	917	Warren	826
Springfield	3,432	Warren's Gore	18
<i>Springfield Village</i>	2,040	Washington	820
St. Albans (town)	1,715	Waterbury	2,810
St. Albans (city)	6,239	<i>Waterbury Village</i>	1,597
St. George	90	Waterford	705
St. Johnsbury	7,010	Waterville	529
<i>St. Johnsbury Village</i> . . .	5,666	Weathersfield	1,089
Stamford	677	Wells	606
Stannard	222	Wells River	565
Starksboro	902	West Derby	913
Stockbridge	822	West Fairlee	531
Stowe	1,926	Westfield	646
<i>Stowe Village</i>	500	Westford	888
Strafford	1,000	Westhaven	355
Stratton	271	Westminster	1,295
Sudbury	474	Westmore	390
Sunderland	518	Weston	756
Sutton	694	West Rutland	2,914
Swanton	3,745	West Windsor	513
<i>Swanton Village</i>	1,168	Weybridge	518
Thetford	1,249	Wheelock	567
Tinmouth	404	Whiting	361
Topsham	1,117	Whitingham	1,042
Townshend	833	Williamstown	1,610
Troy	1,467	Williston	1,176
Tunbridge	885	Wilmington	1,221
Underhill	1,140	<i>Wilmington Village</i> . . .	410
Vergennes	1,753	Windham	356
Vernon	578	Windsor	2,119
Vershire	641	<i>Windsor Village</i>	1,656
Victory	321	Winhall	449
Waitsfield	760	Winooski	3,786
Walden	764	Wolcott	1,066
Wallingford	1,575	Woodbury	862
		Woodford	279
		Woodstock	2,557
		<i>Woodstock Village</i>	1,284
		Worcester	636

TABLE G

GROWTH OF MANUFACTURING IN VERMONT SINCE 1850
(Census of 1900)

YEAR	NUMBER OF ESTABLISH- MENTS	CAPITAL INVESTED	AVERAGE NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS	AMOUNT OF WAGES PAID	VALUE OF PRODUCT	INCREASE PER CENT IN VALUE OF PRODUCT
1850	1,849	\$5,001,377	8,445	\$2,202,348	\$8,570,920	—
1860	1,883	9,498,617	10,497	3,004,986	14,637,807	70.8
1870	3,270	20,329,637	18,686	6,264,581	32,184,606	119.9 ¹
1880	2,874	23,265,224	17,540	5,164,479	31,354,366	—2.6 ²
1890	3,031	32,763,291	22,119	8,427,553	38,340,066	22.3
1900	4,071	48,547,964	29,455	12,237,684	57,623,815	50.4

TABLE H

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY IN VERMONT SINCE 1850
(Census of 1900)

YEAR	NUMBER OF FARMS	ACREAGE	VALUATION OF FARM PROPERTY	VALUE OF PRODUCT
1850	29,763	4,125,822	\$78,749,737	—
1860	31,556	4,274,414	114,196,989	—
1870	33,827	4,528,804	168,506,189 ³	\$34,647,027 ³
1880	35,522	4,882,588	130,811,490	22,082,656
1890	32,573	4,395,646	101,805,370	20,364,980
1900	33,104	4,724,440	108,451,427	33,570,892

¹ The cash valuations of this year, and consequently the ratio, should be scaled down about one fifth, owing to the depreciated currency in which the returns were made.

² Decrease.

³ Diminish one fifth to reduce to a specie basis.

TABLE I

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN 1850 (*Census of 1850*)

Wool produced	3,400,717 lbs.
Butter	12,137,980 "
Cheese	8,720,834 "
Maple sugar	6,349,357 "
Hops	288,023 "
Beeswax and honey	249,422 "
Flax	20,852 "
Hay	866,153 tons
Buckwheat	209,819 bu.
Barley	42,150 "
Peas and beans	104,649 "
Irish potatoes	4,951,014 "
Orchard products	\$315,255
Home-made manufactures	\$267,710
Market gardens	\$18,853

TABLE J

I

THE LEADING MANUFACTURES IN 1840, ARRANGED IN THE
ORDER OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE (*Census of 1840*)

		<i>Producing the value of</i>
Wool: fulling mills, 239 }	\$1,331,953
manufactories, 95 }		
Mills: flouring mills, 7 (4,495 bbls.); sawmills, 1,081; }	1,083,124
oil mills, 20; gristmills, 312 }		
Bricks and lime		402,218
Leather, saddlery, etc.		361,468
Lumber		346,939
Paper, 17 manufactories		179,720
Carriages and wagons		162,097
Cotton, 7 factories (7,254 spindles)		113,000
Machinery		101,354
Furniture		83,275
Ships and vessels built		72,000
Hats, caps, and straw bonnets		65,251
Granite, marble, etc.		62,515
Glasshouses, 2 establishments		55,000
Drugs, medicines, paints, and dyes		38,475
Various metals (not precious metals)		24,900
Potteries, 8 establishments		23,000
Hardware, cutlery, etc.		16,650
Value of all manufactures for which figures are given in the census		\$5,593,842
Total capital invested in manufactures		\$4,326,440
Employees enumerated		7,000

In addition to the above list of manufactures there were produced 718½ tons of pot and pearl ash; furs and skins to the value of \$1,750; precious metals to the value of \$3,000; 39 pounds of silk; a small amount of flax; 1,158 small arms; 50,300 pounds of soap; 28,687 pounds of tallow; ginseng and forest products, \$2,500; musical instruments, \$2,200. There were in the state 29 printing offices, 14 binderies, 2 daily newspapers, 26 weeklies, 2 semi-weeklies, 3 periodicals. There were paper manufactures of playing cards, etc., not included in the list above, amounting to \$35,000. There were 261 tanneries which tanned 102,763 sides of sole leather and 102,937 sides of upper leather. There were two distilleries making 3,500 gallons of liquor, and one brewery producing 12,800 gallons. There were two ropewalks making \$4,000 worth of cordage.

II

THE LEADING MANUFACTURES IN 1860, ARRANGED IN THE
ORDER OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE (*Census of 1860*)

	<i>Establishments</i>	<i>Producing the value of</i>
Woolen goods	45	\$2,936,826
Flour and meal	123	1,659,898
Leather	108	1,002,853
Marble works	50	946,235
Sawed lumber	404	901,519
Marble quarries	16	715,550
Machinery	24	501,276
Carriages	133	475,060
Boots and shoes	148	440,366
Tin, copper, and sheet-iron ware .	60	280,201
Furniture	64	268,735
Clothing	39	250,669
Iron castings	18	231,230
Blacksmithing	167	207,786
Slate quarrying	14	207,150

Industries producing over \$200,000 are given.

III

THE LEADING MANUFACTURES IN 1870, ARRANGED IN THE
ORDER OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE (*Census of 1870*)

	<i>Establishments</i>	<i>Producing the value of</i>
Woolen goods	43	\$3,550,962
Sawed lumber	347	3,142,307
Planed lumber	13	2,526,228
Flouring mills	81	2,071,594
Scales and balances	2	1,629,000
Tanned leather	86	1,249,942
Marble and stone work	29	960,984
Carriages and sleds	169	839,029
Leather, curried	64	762,571
Machinery	37	756,080
Hosiery	7	551,129
Boots and shoes	20	547,789
Cotton goods	8	546,510
Furniture	47	540,521
Agricultural implements	45	523,669
Sashes, doors, and blinds	43	518,125
Tin, copper, and sheet-iron ware .	97	505,005

Industries producing over \$500,000 are given.

IV

THE LEADING MANUFACTURES IN 1880, ARRANGED IN THE
ORDER OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE (*Census of 1880*)

	<i>Establishments</i>	<i>Producing the value of</i>
Sawed lumber	688	\$3,258,816
Woolen goods	44	3,217,807
Flouring and grist mills	227	3,038,688
Planed lumber	18	2,709,522
Scales and balances	3	2,080,474
Marble and stone work	69	1,303,790
Mixed textiles	7	1,277,903
Paper, not specified	13	1,237,484
Tanned leather	53	1,084,503
Cotton goods	8	915,864
Foundry and machine shops	45	783,828
Agricultural implements	35	718,455
Musical instruments, organs, and materials	2	680,800
Hosiery and knit goods	6	595,270
Curried leather	24	530,337

Industries producing over \$500,000 are given.

V

THE LEADING MANUFACTURES IN 1890, ARRANGED IN THE
ORDER OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE (*Census of 1890*)

	<i>Establishments</i>	<i>Producing the value of</i>
Lumber, and other mill products from logs or bolts	736	\$6,843,817
Flouring and grist mills	217	2,890,174
Woolen goods	29	2,723,683
Paper	14	2,289,901
Planing-mill products	31	1,868,760
Marble and stone work	46	1,656,637
Cheese, butter, and condensed milk	123	1,602,641
Monuments and tombstones	96	1,492,384
Foundry and machine shops	61	1,199,067
Hosiery and knit goods	10	1,105,958
Cotton goods	6	914,685
Carpentering	76	843,795
Musical instruments	3	794,346
Patent medicines and compounds	13	777,111

Industries producing over \$750,000 are given.

VI

THE LEADING MANUFACTURES IN 1900, ARRANGED IN THE
ORDER OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE (*Census of 1900*)

	<i>Establishments</i>	<i>Producing the value of</i>
Lumber and timber	658	\$6,131,808
Cheese, butter, and condensed milk	255	5,656,265
Monuments and tombstones	268	4,045,611
Paper and wood pulp	27	3,384,773
Flouring and grist mills	211	3,222,347
Planing-mill products, including sashes, doors, and blinds	46	2,598,581
Woolen goods	23	2,572,646
Marble and stone work	54	2,484,551
Foundry and machine shops	61	2,185,510
Patent medicines and compounds	24	2,125,016
Hosiery and knit goods	14	1,834,685
Furniture factories	24	1,252,742
Carpentering	78	1,245,507

Industries producing over \$1,000,000 are given.

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